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Contents

PAGE

Louisiana Clergy and the Confederate Army 277
By Sidney J. Romero

Military Events in Louisiana During the Civil War, 1861-1865..... 301
By Allen W. Jones

Pierre A. Rost's Mission to Europe, 1861-1863..... 322
By William W. White and Joseph O. Baylen

The Republican Party in the Louisiana Election of 1896 332
By Philip D. Uzee

Lucinda Sparkle 345
By Jane Lucas deGrummond

Vignettes 349

Report on the Third Annual Meeting 352

Notes and Comments 358

Book Reviews 362

Book Reviews:

PAGE

Dufour, *The Night the War Was Lost*, by John D. Winters 362

Brownlee, *Gray Ghosts of the Confederacy—Guerrilla Warfare in the West, 1861-1865*, by Archie Philip McDonald 363

Hunter, *School Board Service: A Handbook for Louisiana School Board Members*, by Lionel Pellegrin..... 365

Louisiana Clergy and the Confederate Army

By SIDNEY J. ROMERO

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Southeastern Louisiana College.

SOON AFTER THE FIRING on Fort Sumter, Governor Thomas Overton Moore issued a series of clarion calls to the citizens of Louisiana.[1] They responded. Twenty-four-thousand and ninety-three strong by November, 1861,[2] and approximately fifty-thousand strong by the end of the war, Louisianians entered the service of the Confederate States of America.[3] They, in turn, issued a call[4] to the ministers of the gospel—a call which was authorized by action of the Congress of the Confederate States of America.[5] The summons fell on ready ears and clergy from the state's leading denominations responded eagerly. Some, however, were prevented from serving in the capacities they would have chosen.

There was, for example, the Reverend Joseph H. Jordan

[1] *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (128 vols., Washington, 1880-1901), Ser. 4, I, 747-48 (hereinafter cited *O.R.*).

[2] New Orleans *Daily Delta*, November 29, 1861.

[3] Roger Wallace Shugg, *Origins of Class Struggle in Louisiana: A Social History of the White Farmers and Laborers during Slavery and After, 1840-1875* (Baton Rouge, 1939), 170-71. According to Andrew B. Booth (comp.), *Records of Louisiana Confederate Soldiers and Louisiana Confederate Commands* (3 vols, New Orleans, 1920), I, 6, fifty-six thousand Louisianans entered Confederate military service.

[4] Colonel Henry B. Kelly to Archbishop John Mary Odin, July 12, 1861 (photostat of MS., Chancery office, Archdiocese of New Orleans).

[5] *O.R.*, Ser. 4, I, 275.

who enlisted as a private in Co. K, 17th Louisiana Infantry, at the outset of the war. Jordan, we may judge, was eager to assume chaplain duties, and Colonel S. S. Heard, commander of his unit, recommended him for this position, writing to Secretary of War Judah P. Benjamin as follows: "Mr. Joseph H. Jordan . . . I know to be a competent man and one who will discharge faithfully the duties of the position."[6] Some time later, though, the "competent" Reverend Jordan was still attempting to clarify his status. He wrote Benjamin that Colonel Heard had assured him there would be "no difficulty" in obtaining his appointment, and he had "entered upon the duties of the Office." He had been "faithful to the post . . . endeavoring as far as possible to be of service." He had supplied "reading matter of a moral nature" for his men at his own expense and had provided himself with a tent and outfit. All of this with the expectation of receiving the appointment.[7] Jordan apparently never received the commission for official records continue to refer to him as a "Minister of the Gospel" and indicate that he was discharged eight months after his letter to Benjamin, still holding the rank of private.[8] Jordan had heard the call and answered in the only way possible. Through no fault of his own his promising career became entwined in red tape *a la Confederacy* and his potential usefulness was reduced to naught. Other ministers undoubtedly had similar experiences.

There was the Reverend Francis Mittlebroon who blessed the flags of the Pointe Coupee batteries, exhorted the men to do their duty, accompanied them to New Orleans and volunteered to serve as their chaplain. Permission was denied him by his superior, Archbishop John Mary Odin, because of the "great scarcity of priests." However he was told that "if you can find me one to take your place, you may go,

[6] Colonel S. S. Heard to Secretary of War J. P. Benjamin, January 9, 1862, Adjutant General Office File (National Archives, Washington).

[7] Joseph H. Jordan to Secretary of War J. P. Benjamin, February 6, 1862, Adjutant General Office File.

[8] Booth, *Records of Louisiana Confederate Soldiers and Louisiana Confederate Commands*, III, Bk. 1, 484.

but otherwise I cannot see my way clear to let you do so."[9] Father Mittlebroon returned to his parish but his heart continued to heed the call. After New Orleans fell, Pointe Coupee raised another regiment and again he blessed the flags. This time he was arrested and confined for an indefinite term in a Baton Rouge prison. When, at last, he was brought to trial and ordered by the provost marshal to stop blessing Confederate flags, Father Mittlebroon replied, "I shall continue to exercise the duties of my holy ministry and as it commands me to bless articles that may be blessed by a priest, I shall bless every flag that is brought to me."[10] Prevented by his superior from serving in the capacity he would have chosen, this ardent Confederate priest nevertheless answered the call in another way open to him.

Jordan and Mittlebroon, their aspirations alike casualties of circumstances, were probably as unlike as two men could be. Yet, both were dedicated heart and soul to the call and to the callers. Hundreds of ministers the state over were equally dedicated. They, too, responded and the nature of each individual's response one hundred years ago enables us today to see them pursuing their ministerial duties within three separate frameworks: (1) those who took part in actual combat, serving from within the ranks, (2) those who were sponsored by their churches to serve as missionaries or acting chaplains, and (3) those who were commissioned chaplain by the Confederate States of America.

It took a special brand of courage and long hours of prayer before the ministers who served in framework one decided to cast their lots with the men in the ranks. There were those, who, like Jordan, hoped to step into the more holy office of chaplain. Others were genuinely convinced that their purpose would best be served through personal example in intimate, day-to-day, hardship-sharing contact with their

[9] *Confederate Veteran,* XXVII (September, 1919), 353.
[10] *Ibid.*

lay brethren. Some enlisted as privates in their local units.[11] Some, commissioned as military officers, found themselves in a position to command respect and at least a hearing from their men.[12] The Reverend L. M. Davis, Captain 12th Louisiana Regiment, found it composed of "high spirited young men, most of whom were wild and reckless, but he began to hold prayer meetings . . . and over 100 professed faith in Christ."[13]

Certainly the most renowned Louisiana minister to serve within the framework was Major-General Leonidas K. Polk, Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of Louisiana. The reverend general, fatally wounded on the slopes of Pine Mountain, considered going to war in the same light as a man who, finding his house on fire, realizes he must use every weapon within his grasp to put it out.[14]

It was widely believed in some areas that Louisianians were a "fierce, bowie-knife, irreligious people, prodigal of life, and dangerous to live with."[15] Perhaps the presence of these ministers within the ranks, some commanding, some obeying, all acknowledging their God, did much to modify this conception for Chaplain F. McCarthy wrote:

> Nothing is farther from the truth. I have been in many places in the army, in the past two years, but nowhere have I seen a more admirable set of people. Their military discipline is the very best, their manners are dignified and friendly, their minds are shrewd and observant, and their hearts are warm and constant. I have never witnessed

[11] Booth, *Records of Louisiana Confederate Soldiers and Louisiana Confederate Commands*, III, Bk. 2, 138; New Orleans *Picayune*, March 6, 1862; P. L. Rainwater (ed.), *A Civilian's Recollections of the War Between the States, H. S. Fulkerson 1886* (Baton Rouge, 1939), 138; A. Gordon Bakewell Biographical File, (Louisiana State Museum Library, New Orleans).

[12] *Confederate Veteran*, XVII (November, 1909), 541; Robert Henry Harper, *Louisiana Methodism* (Washington, 1949), 91.

[13] Richmond, *The Soldier's Paper*, April 1, 1865.

[14] William M. Polk, *Leonidas Polk Bishop and General* (2 vols., New York, 1893), II, 206.

[15] Richmond *Religious Herald*, September 17, 1863.

> greater respect for religion and its ministers, greater anxiety to enjoy religious privileges, or more general concern on the subject of personal holiness, than I have among this people.[16]

The leading denominations of the state, as well as the ministers within them, heard the call and deemed it their obligation to supply the men in the field with spiritual guidance wherever it was lacking. To this end, the churches took it upon themselves to send missionaries or acting chaplains. The Baptists, Presbyterians and Methodists all sent ministers.[17] Jesuit priests ministered to soldiers in the New Orleans, Mobile and Vicksburg areas.[18] The Reverend Charles Boglioli, C.M., served the Donaldsonville Cannoneers as acting chaplain for about a year while they were in Virginia.[19]

The ministers who served thus were dependent on the denomination which sent them, for missionaries were not entitled to salary or subsistence from the government. Cooperation between the churches and the army was arranged for, as the problem of providing missionaries in the field with food and forage for their horses became acute. Post quartermasters and commissaries were instructed to accept food and forage from any religious denomination, issue receipts for same which were redeemable "in kind in rations to be issued in the field to properly accredited missionaries . . ."[20]

While there were, obviously, drawbacks to the missionary

[16] *Ibid.*

[17] Harper, *Louisiana Methodism,* 91; Rev. B. Charles Bell (comp.), *Presbyterianism in North Louisiana to 1929* (Shreveport, 1930), 96; Robert Allan Cross, *The History of Southern Methodism in New Orleans* (New Orleans, 1931), 33-34; Floy Finis Schochler, "Louisiana Baptist and the War for Southern Independence," (M.A. thesis, L.S.U., 1958), 27-29.

[18] Albert H. Biever, S. J., *The Jesuits in New Orleans and the Mississippi Valley* (New Orleans, 1924), 13.

[19] "The Father Damien of Louisiana," *The De Andrein,* XVI (May, 1946), 8.

[20] *O.R.*, Ser. 4, III, 942.

status, there were likewise immense rewards. Chief of these was the fact that, since missionaries were not assigned to a specific unit, they were unencumbered by military restrictions and were, hence, freer to move about among the men. When Reverend B. M. Palmer, the famed Presbyterian missionary of New Orleans, was reportedly appointed chaplain to the Confederate Guards, his appointment was emphatically denied. "He is not a member of any company . . . He has not . . . taken the appointment of chaplain, and will not. His purpose is to stay with the army as much as he can and do all the good he can while there."[21]

In August, 1863, Palmer reported to the *Southern Presbyterian:* "I am preaching nearly every day. My arrangements for the present week, are such as to require me to preach eight times, holding the services in the different portions of the brigade."[22] Again, in September, 1863, he wrote:

> In the 41st Mississippi . . . there has been a gracious outpouring of the Holy Spirit . . . religious services were held every morning and every night. The result has been the professed conversion of about twenty, while very many more have been in an anxious, inquiring state of mind. The meetings . . . in the large and commodious arbor . . . were delightful, solemn, tender. The interest has been mainly due under God, to the fidelity in prayer and labor of Captain Ball, a baptist minister, and one of the officers of the regiment.[23]

Much of the interest, too, must have been due to the compelling effect of Palmer's preaching. One soldier wrote: "Dr. Palmer is preaching here now, I have heard him two Sundays in succession and enjoyed it."[24] Even Palmer's fellow-ministers

[21] Fayetteville *North Carolina Presbyterian,* July 12, 1862; New Orleans *Picayune,* February 22, 1862.

[22] Columbus *Southern Presbyterian,* August 20, 1863.

[23] *Ibid.,* September 10, 1863.

[24] James T. Searcy to his mother, August 2, 1863 (typed copy of letter in Maps and Manuscript Division, Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery).

praised him. S. M. Cherry, Chaplain 37th Georgia Regiment, said "his sermons were bodied of thought, iron arguments and living logic."[25]

Undeniably, those Louisiana ministers who responded to the call by serving within frameworks one and two contributed generously to the spiritual and moral welfare of the callers. Necessarily, though, the bulk of the holy burden was borne by those ministers who served within framework three as commissioned chaplains to either Louisiana units or to units of other states.

The chaplain held a peculiarly responsible position. Unlike the minister who served in the ranks, saving souls was his full-time job. Unlike the missionary who might roam at will and concentrate his efforts where he pleased, a specific number of souls were assigned to the chaplain of each unit. While these souls were not responsible to him, he, in all conscience, was responsible for them.

Official channels were completely silent on the matter of his duties. The neophyte chaplain had but his sense of right and the exigencies of war to dictate where his duty lay, and malcontents stood ever ready to criticize the appearance of laxity. John F. Sale confided to his diary that it seemed strange with "three Chaplains in the Brigade we can not have services at least on the Lords day and more especially when there is no more danger than there is today, but they are so careful of their precious bodies that they think nothing of our souls which is their business. . . ."[26] Factors of which Sale was unaware must have precipitated this apparent neglect. Since "ministers of religion in the regular discharge of their ministerial duties" were legally exempt from military service, it seems reasonable to assume that those who heeded the call were motivated by a real desire to be of service to their men and to their country.[27]

[25] Augusta (Ga.) *Southern Christian Advocate,* September 17, 1863.
[26] John F. Sale, diary, entry of June 19, 1864 (MS. in Virginia State Library).
[27] *O.R.*, Ser. 4, I, 1081.

The majority of chaplains fulfilled that desire. Their days were crammed with conferring privately on spiritual matters, distributing tracts, visiting the messes, visiting the sick, praying with the dying and burying the dead. Some chaplains managed to acquaint themselves with every member of their units and corresponded with their churches and their families.[28] Whenever possible, the chaplain would inform relatives at home of the death of their loved ones. Father Pierre Dicharry brought back to his parishioners in Natchitoches remembrances of their deceased. A picture of the priest was discovered recently which bore the following inscription on the reverse side: "Father Dicharry, who was with Placide Bossier when he was killed in battle. Phanon Prudhomme cut a lock of Placide's hair and gave it to Father with his prayer book to take home."[29]

The hard core of the chaplain's work, the field in which he sowed himself most lavishly, depended by its very nature on the beliefs of his denomination. The Protestant chaplain spent himself on preaching the word of God. No activity of his so affected the men as the fervor and the frequency with which he preached; indeed, his very reputation and portent for good hinged on his persuasive talents.

The military career of that great pulpit orator, the Reverend Thomas R. Markham, successfully embraced two of our frameworks. At the outbreak of war, Reverend Markham, pastor of the Lafayette Presbyterian Church in New Orleans, entered the service as a private in the Confederate Guards. He was then a young man, "with jet black curling locks and dark eyes, of prepossing and graceful manners, or soldierly bearing when dressed in his handsome Confederate grey uniform . . . and as willing and ready to discharge the

[28] Roger Baudier, *The Catholic Church in Louisiana* (New Orleans, 1939), 425; Richmond *Religious Herald,* February 13, 1862; Columbus *Southern Presbyterian,* May 18, 1861.

[29] Rev. Blaise C. D'Antoni, "Abbe Pierre Felix Dicharry, Vicar General Diocese of Natchitoches 1854-1887" (mimeographed booklet, Loyola (La.) Univ. Lib.), 24.

duties of a soldier as those of his more sacred office." When New Orleans fell, the Reverend Markham marched to Camp Moore, was discharged from the Guards, travelled to Vicksburg and was there appointed to the chaplaincy of Withers' Artillery regiment. Following the surrender of Vicksburg on July 4, 1863, he was appointed to the chaplaincy of Featherston's Brigade and in this capacity served through the "battle of Chicasaw bayou." He took part in the Georgia campaign under Johnston and in Hood's battles around Atlanta.[30]

> "Opportunities for workship varied as the command moved or camped," Markham reported.
>
> Sometimes intervals of weeks elapsed, during which no resting time occurred; and again religious services protracted through days and weeks. One of these continued thirty days when we were holding the lines above Atlanta. Two or three services were held daily. I did the preaching; and at night, when there was little danger from the firing interchanged between the pickets, ministers, who were sent as army missionaries from the different churches, conducted the worship. Our methods were simple, without confusion or excitement. A semi-circle of logs formed our audience room; whose ceiling was a canopy of blue set with night's golden stars. A frame resting in the forks of poles driven in the earth and covered with clay, on which pine knots were piled, was our Astral or Chandelier. Beside this stood the preacher. Our assembling bell was a volume of praise rolling from a half hundred manly voices . . . From every quarter in answer to this call, they came.[31]

Yet the Reverend Markham did not allow himself to wait for a propitious time or a convenient place to preach. He wrote his wife on one occasion that he preached "under a

30 Rainwater, *A Civilian's Recollections of the War Between the States . . .*, 138-40.

31 Louis Voss (comp.), *Presbyterianism in New Orleans and the Adjacent Parts* (New Orleans, 1931), 182.

gin near Big Bayou."[32] On another Sunday morning while he was conducting services "there was a noise overheard, and a shell exploded in the trees under whose shade [he] was standing. There wasn't a tremor in the voice . . . the sermon was being preached, when another shell burst close at hand. There was no sign of the preacher's having noted the trouble, until a shell broke and wounded several of the company. 'General,' said the Chaplain, 'Shall I continue the service.' 'Well. Parson,' said the General, 'I guess you had better not. The enemy seem to have located us by the sounds coming from this direction, and you'd better dismiss the boys. . . .' "[33]

Another Presbyterian, the Reverend William A. Hall, chaplain of the Washington Artillery Battalion, was reported to have given "a very interesting discourse."[34] One soldier reported to his mother that the Reverend R. H. Reed, chaplain 5th Louisiana Regiment, "preached a very fine sermon last Sunday, I am told and one night last week, after tattoo, I heard him offer a prayer in Captain Brown's Camp."[35]

Another soldier wrote that Dr. Reed had delivered two good sermons lately. "He preached right in front of our tent both times using my precious Bible on the occasion. I never saw such profound attention in all my life by a very large crowd indeed . . . I declare he is a magnificent preacher."[36]

The pious soldier filled his diary and his letters home with citations of texts from which sermons that impressed him were taken. G. W. Roberts recorded that Reverend Markham spoke from "Isaiah 26 chapt., 8 verse" on one occasion: "yea, in the way of thy judgment Lord have we

[32] Thomas R. Markham to wife, July 16, 1862, Markham Papers (Department of Archives, Louisiana State University).

[33] Newspaper clipping in Markham scrapbook, Markham Papers.

[34] Sale diary, entry of June 24, 1864.

[35] R. Channing Price to mother, July 28, 1861, Price Papers (Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina).

[36] A. Flournoy, Jr., to My Sweet Docy, July 8, 1861 (typescript copy in possession of Bell I. Wiley, Emory University).

waited."[37] The Reverend James M. Hall spoke "from the beautiful invitation and promise found in VI Matthew 28th 'come unto me'."[38] Reverend Alexander G. Bakewell, chaplain 28th Mississippi Regiment, dwelt "mostly upon the words 'Seek ye the Lord while he may be found; call ye upon him while he is near'."[39]

Reverend Bakewell was another Louisiana minister who served within two frameworks. At the outbreak of the war he enlisted in Company Five, Washington Artillery, and served as an orderly sergeant and cannoneer.[40] His services in this capacity must have been outstanding for he was given official commendation. His commander, however, realizing that many men in the unit had exhibited bravery, requested the acting assistant adjutant-general to erase that portion of his report "beginning with A. Gordon Bakewell."[41]

Bakewell was severely wounded at the Battle of Shiloh and, while incapacitated, made his decision to become an ordained minister of the Protestant Episcopal Church.[42] He was ordained by Bishop-General Leonidas K. Polk,[43] and shortly afterward he was commissioned chaplain to the 28th Mississippi Infantry Regiment.[44] He also served with Morgan's Cavalry through the Atlanta Campaign.[45]

Some chaplains did not feel that their obligation had been fulfilled when they ministered to the men in their com-

37 G. W. Roberts, diary, entry of May 1, 1864 (MS. in Mississippi State Department of Archives, Jackson).

38 Sale diary, entry of June 24, 1864.

39 W. P. Chambers, diary, entry of May 25, 1864 (MS. in Mississippi State Department of Archives, Jackson).

40 Bakewell Biographical File; Booth, *Records of Louisiana Confederate Soldiers and Louisiana Confederate Commands*, I, 110.

41 *O.R.*, Ser. 1, X, 515.

42 A. Gordon Bakewell Biographical Folder, Louisiana Historical Association Collection (Manuscript Section, Tulane University Library).

43 Hodding Carter and Betty Werlein Carter, *So Great A Good:* (Sewanee, 1955), 130.

44 Confederate Chaplain Appointment Book, No. 491.

45 Bakewell Biographical Folder, Louisiana Historial Association Collection.

mands so they continued their labors among the folk of the adjacent countryside. The Reverend Caleb Dowe, 9th Louisiana Regiment, preached "most acceptably from plantation to plantation."[46] Reverend J. F. Scurlock, chaplain Crescent Rifles Regiment, accompanied a Texas chaplain to visit "families in the country."[47]

Wherever they went, in whatever unit they served, chaplains were cordially received. The Reverend Markham reminisced that "no sweeter return ever rewarded time and toil . . . it was a service that an angel might have envied."[48] Father Francois I. Turgis, 30th Louisiana Infantry, wrote that "the great New Orleans Guards . . . has been very good [to] me. They look on me with devotion and all of this just because I do my duty."[49]

In line with their belief concerning the importance of the sacraments, Catholic chaplains focused their attention on hearing confessions, distributing Holy Communion administering Extreme Unction, and in directing retreats and instruction classes.[50] Unlike their Protestant brethren, they devoted little time to preaching. Indeed, Father Turgis, who had served twenty-six years with the French army and navy and who served four years with the Confederacy, feared that the entire Creole population would be lost for eternity if its salvation depended upon his oratorial prowess . . . "God [give] me strength," he wrote, "for I am not a good preacher."[51] God did give him strength, strength to give pardon and absolution for forty-eight hours without stopping during the Battle of

[46] Raleigh *Church Intelligencer,* August 30, 1861.

[47] Oscar M. Addison to mother, August 6, 1863, Addison Papers (Archives Collection, The University of Texas Library).

[48] Rainwater, *A Civilian's Recollections of the War Between the States . . .*, 140-41.

[49] Father Francois I. Turgis to Archbishop John Mary Odin, April 16, 1862 (photostat of a MS., Chancery office, Archdiocese of New Orleans).

[50] Father E. Smulders, C.SS.R., to Colonel Henry Kelly, March, 1870, Smulders Papers (Louisiana Historical Association Collection, Manuscript Section, Tulane University Library).

[51] Turgis to Odin, April 16, 1862.

Illustrations

Fig. 1–Rev. B. M. Palmer–Missionary to the Army of Tenn.
original photograph in the Confederate Museum

Fig. 2–Rev. Thomas R. Markham–Gen. Featherstone's Brigade
original photo in the Confederate Museum, New Orleans, La.

Fig. 3–"Pere Turgis, Chaplain of the 30th Louisiana Regiment"
original drawing in the Confederate Museum

Fig. 4–Rev. Gordon Bakewell Chaplain 28th Miss. Inf. Regt.
original oil portrait by E. Woodward in the Confederate Museum

Fig. 5–Father Darius Hubert, S.J. 1st Inf. Regt.
original photograph in the Confederate Museum

Fig. 6–Father Darius Hubert, S.J. "Chaplain La. troops" 1st La. Inf. Regt.
original photo in the Confederate Museum

Figure 1.

Figure 2.

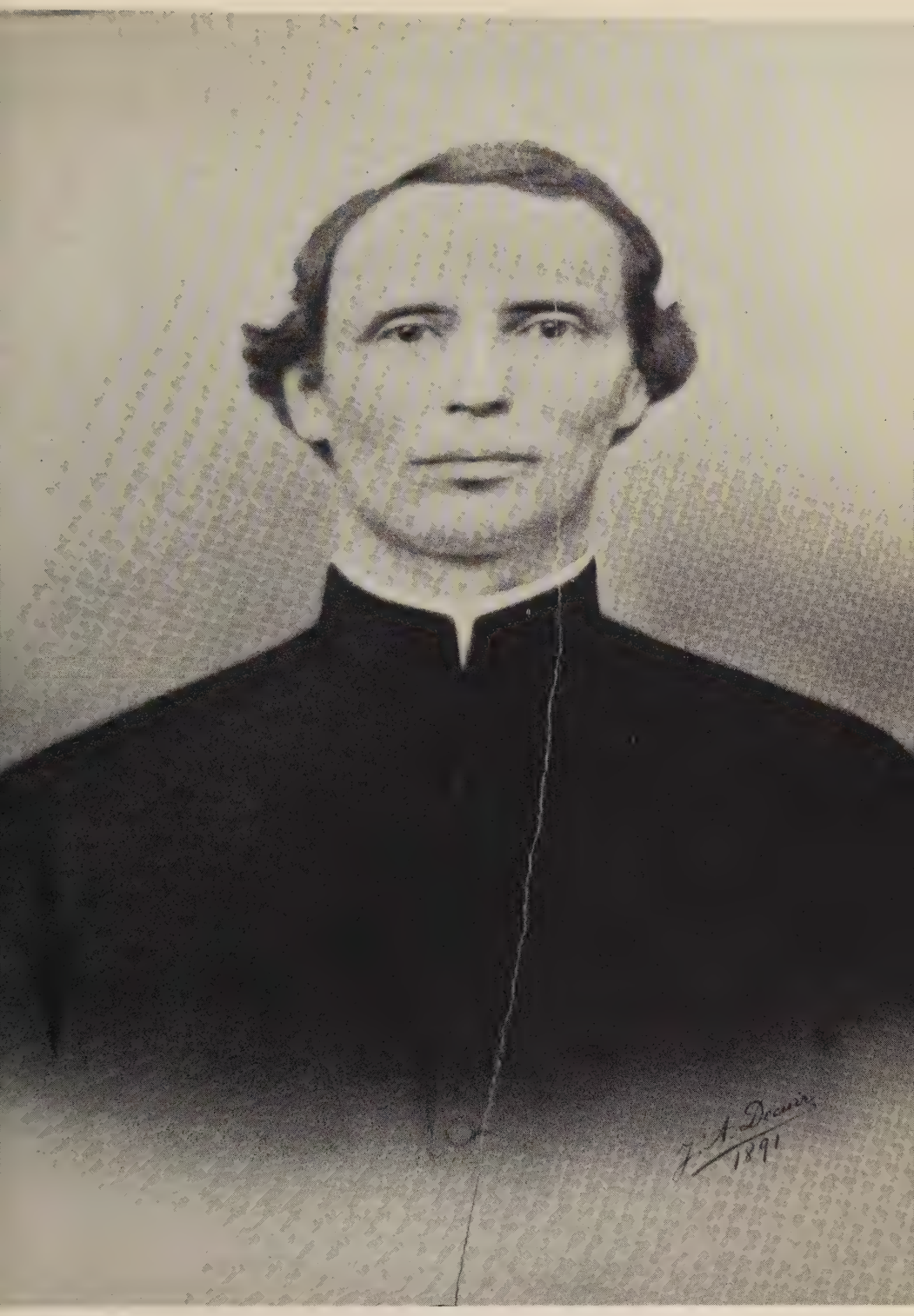

Figure 3.

Figure 4

Figure 5.

Figure 6.

Shiloh when he found himself the only priest amid close to 20,000 Catholics. "But I couldn't stop to cry," he moaned in a letter to his archbishop.[52] How often these faithful men of God, few as seasoned to the horrors of war as Father Turgis, must have yearned to stop and cry. "Well do I recall our charges up Franklin's fatal slope," recalled Reverend Markham later, " and remember how, the day after . . . I buried seventy of the best and bravest of my brigade, placed side by side in the long trenches that were their common grave; and that night at Peach Tree Creek above Atlanta when of our 1,230 men that went in but 650 came out."[53] And Reverend Egidius Smulders, C.SS.R., 8th Louisiana Infantry Regiment, recorded how "One Sunday morning . . . early mass a messenger reported that two miles to our left a field hospital with over five-hundred wounded had been abandoned by Grant. I went with my orderly and found they had been two days and two nights without any attendance, without food and water. Three wounded men had tried to drag themselves to a little mudpool and died in the attempts."[54]

Yet, Father Smulders found that his "most painful duty was to attend the poor men condemned by court marshal to be shot. I attended ten at different times. I baptized four of them and gave the sacraments to the others. They all died in the best of dispositions."[55] Father James Sheeran, C.SS.R., chaplain 14th Louisiana Infantry Regiment, likewise experienced pain on attending soldiers condemned to death. It was reported to him that two Virginia soldiers were to be shot for desertion. When he arrived upon the scene of execution he found the soldiers surrounded by a crowd and accompanied by two Protestant chaplains. The priest soon discovered that the condemned men had never been baptized

[52] *Ibid.*

[53] Rainwater, *A Civilian's Recollections of the War Between the States . . .*, 141.

[54] Smulders to Kelly, March, 1870, Smulders Papers.

[55] *Ibid.;* Cecil J. Murphy, Sr., "Notes of Rev. Egidius Smulders, C.SS.R." (MS. in possession of the author).

and after talking to them for awhile he noted that they were properly disposed to receive baptism. However, while he was gone in quest of water one of the Protestant chaplains persuaded the prisoners not to to baptized. Seeing the turn of events and not being willing to witness this execution Father Sheeran returned to camp.[56]

Often chaplains, both Protestant and Catholic, were so blinded with devotion that they followed the call into situations which were fraught with personal danger. Father Darius Hubert, S.J., chaplain 1st Louisiana Volunteers, accompanied his men through every battle and was wounded in the arm during Pickett's charge at Gettysburg.[57] In a sense he became acting-chaplain for the Confederate Navy, for after the battle of the Merrimac and Monitor, knowing that some members of the crew had been recruited from the corps which he served, Father Hubert asked permission to board the ship. Permission was denied for the ship was already in a sinking way and Admiral Franklin Buchanan feared that he might have to blow it up. Father Hubert was not to be unnerved. "Let me aboard tonight," he said, and soon he mounted the gang-plank and began ministering to the spiritual needs of the crew.[58]

Father Antonie de Chaignon, S.J., chaplain 18th Louisiana Infantry, served with his unit in and around Corinth and was severely wounded at the Battle of Shiloh.[59] Father Turgis almost lost his life at the Battle of Shiloh while attending a Federal officer who had been wounded. A Federal

[56] William H. Dodd, "A Confederate War Journal," *Historical Records and Studies, U. S. Catholic Historical Society* (New York, 1941), XXXII, 95.

[57] New Orleans *Times Picayune,* June 23, 1893.

[58] *The Woodstock Letters—A Record of Current Events and Historical Notes Connected with the Colleges and Missions of the Society of Jesus* (Woodstock College, 1914), XLIII, 170, consulted with permission; *Dom Aidan Henry Germain, Catholic Military and Naval Chaplains 1776-1917* (Washington, 1929), 117-22.

[59] Roger Baudier, Sr., K.S.G., "Notes on Catholic Chaplains with Louisiana Confederate Forces" (MS. in possession of the author).

soldier aimed his rifle at the priest and was about to fire[60] when Andrew Jackson Wagner, a member of the Orleans Guards, shot him down.[61] Father Turgis received a head wound later, but refused to leave the battlefield. The chaplain was cited for his heroism on two different occasions, once by General P. G. T. Beauregard in his order of the day following the Battle of Shiloh[62] and again by General R. L. Gibson who reported following the action of his forces around Mobile Bay that "The Reverend Father Turgis shared our dangers and hardships, and gave the consolation of religion whenever the occasion offered along the trenches and in the hospital."[63]

Taken prisoner by the enemy was Chaplain William Hall, Washington Artillery Battalion. Chaplain Hall made his escape the same day he was captured, but few of his brethren were as fortunate.[64] Chaplain L. H. Baldwin, 5th Louisiana Infantry, captured at Antietam, September 17, 1862, was exchanged at Aikens Landing two months later.[65] Father Dicharry was retained in prison a sufficient length of time for the experience to undermine his strength. Shortly after he was returned he was forced by reasons of health to tender his resignation.[66] Chaplain Charles F. Evans, Crescent Regiment Louisiana Infantry, had the satisfaction at least of giving his captors a difficult time. He was captured October 27, 1862, at Labadieville and paroled the same day. Still being retained on February 4, 1863, however, he requested permission to rejoin his corps and was exchanged on February 23, 1863. He then joined Ogden's Louisiana Cavalry and

60 New Orleans *Crescent*, March 5, 1868.

61 *Ibid.*, March 6, 1868.

62 New Orleans *Morning Star and Catholic Messenger*, March 8, 1868.

63 *O.R.*, Ser. 1, XLIX, 313.

64 Booth, *Records of Louisiana Confederate Soldiers and Louisiana Confederate Commands*, III, Bk. 1, 161.

65 *Ibid.*, I, 110.

66 *Ibid.*, II, 624; D'Antoni, "Abbe Pierre Felix Dicharry, Vicar General Diocese of Natchitoches 1854-1887," 23.

was taken prisoner again.[67] No official communication reveals when, or whether, he was released. Robert Hardie, Jr., chaplain 2nd Louisiana Infantry, likewise kept his would-be-captors busy. He was captured at Gettysburg July 5, 1863, and sent to Ft. McHenry. Exchanged at City Point, Virginia, October 7, 1863, the following year found him back in federal prison after being captured at Moorefield, Virginia, August 7, 1864. He was forwarded to Camp Chase, Ohio, August 11, 1864, then transferred to Fort Monroe, Virginia, to be exchanged as a non-combatant. Recaptured at Burkville Junction, Virginia, April 20, 1865, he was paroled the same day.[68]

We can only surmise at the prison experience of one William Warren, chaplain Pointe Coupee Artillery. He was captured and paroled on several occasions;[69] however, Colonel Joseph H. Tucker, commander of the 69th Illinois Volunteers, writing from Camp Douglas, Chicago, to Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton seems to have had some misgivings as to the strictly religious nature of Warren's activities. Colonel Tucker stated that he had arrested a Dr. L. D. Boone, a prominent citizen of Chicago for furnishing prisoners with money with which to bribe sentinels. He wrote that "W. H. Warren, claiming to be a chaplain, who was on parole until recently has been a medium for the distribution of this money."[70]

Also involved in procuring and distributing, between prison experiences, was Chaplain Hardie. He was reported on the rolls for January and February, 1864, as "absent procuring shoes and clothing for the Regiment."[71]

Louisiana ministers, as did other ministers, used their va-

[67] Charles T. Evans to Brigadier General Power[?], February 4, 1863, Adjutant General Office File.

[68] Booth, *Records of Louisiana Confederate Soldiers and Louisiana Confederate Commands*, III, Bk. 1, 184.

[69] *Ibid.*, Bk. 2, 998.

[70] *O.R.*, Ser. 2, IV, 339.

[71] Booth, *Records of Louisiana Confederate Soldiers and Louisiana Confederate Commands*, III, Bk. 1, 184.

rious positions to distribute many things. They distributed courage when, beyond the call of duty, they risked their lives in battle. They distributed fortitude when they bore bravely their wounds and imprisonments. They distributed religious guidance and consolation when, as Catholics, they dispensed the sacraments, and when, as Protestants, they preached fervently and frequently.

There were at least sixteen ministers of the gospel, according to available evidence, who served in the capacity of missionary or acting chaplain.[72] They represented primarily the Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian denominations. Thirty-one clergymen were commissioned as chaplains.[73] Of those whose denomination is known, more represented the Catholic faith than any other single one. The apparent absence of Baptist chaplains is probably due to the fact that on the eve of the war there were only about one hundred Baptist ministers in the entire state.[74]

When the Stars and Bars had fallen, the soldiers could go home. Their cause was lost; for them the war was over. The ministers, though, had fought for another cause and beneath a different banner. They went home too, but their service was not ended. Louisianians needed them more desperately in the bitter days of defeat than they had before. The call echoed ever stronger in their ears. With courage and compassion, they began to build their postwar lives around it.

[72] This estimate is based on a study of various religious papers, journals, and denominational histories.

[73] This figure is based on the listings in Booth, *Records of Louisiana Confederate Soldiers and Louisiana Confederate Commands,* and the Confederate Chaplain Appointment Book. It takes into consideration certain inaccuracies as Father Anthony Carius being mentioned as A. Cavins in Booth, Vol. II, 298. The author also noted cases in which some chaplains received commissions directly from the governor of Louisiana which are not recorded in the two authorities used in this study; hence, they are not considered among the thirty-one.

[74] John T. Christian, *A History of the Baptists of Louisiana* (Shreveport, 1928), 113.

COMMISSIONED CHAPLAINS WITH LOUISIANA UNITS

Name	*Unit*	*Denomination*	*Authority**
Baldwin, L. H.	5th La. Inf. Regt.		*RLCS*, I, 110; Appointment Bk., No. 306
Carius, Anthony	1st La. Inf. Regt.	Catholic	Appointment Bk., No. 306
Cleghorn, E. B.	17th La. Inf. Regt.	Presbyterian	Appointment Bk., No. 278; *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America* (Columbia, S. C., 1863), 125
Cullen, B. P.	27th La. Inf. Regt.		*RLCS*, II, 497
DeChaignon, Antoine, S. J.	18th La. Inf. Regt.	Catholic	*RLCS*, II, 575
Dicharry, Pierre F.	3rd La. Inf. Regt.	Catholic	*RLCS*, II, 624; Rev. Blaise C. D'Antoni, "Abbe Peirre Felix Dicharry, Vicar General Diocese of Natchitoches 1854-1887," mimeographed booklet
Dowe, Caleb	9th La. Inf. Regt.	Episcopal	*RLCS*, II, 670; Rev. Herman C. Duncan (comp.), *The Diocese of Louisiana, Some of its History 1838-1888* (New Orleans, 1888), 243; Raleigh (N. C.), *Church Intelligencer*, August 20, 1861
Dunn, Ballard S.	1st La. Inf. Regt.	Episcopal	*RLCS*, II, 716; Hodding Carter and Betty Werlein Carter, *So Great A Good: A History of the Episcopal Church in Louisiana and of Christ Church Cathedral, 1805-1955* (Sewanee, 1955), 145

Evans, Charles F.	9th La. Inf. Regt.		*RLCS*, II, 790
Gache, Hippolite, S. J.	10th La. Inf. Regt.	Catholic	Appointment Bk., No. 33
Godfrey, J. A.	4th La. Inf. Regt.	Methodist	*RLCS*, III, Bk. 1, 42; Augusta (Ga.) *Southern Christian Advocate*, December 4, 1862
Hall, William A.	Bn. Washington Artillery	Presbyterian	*RLCS*, III, Bk. 1, 161; Appointment Bk., No. 495; E. C. Scott (comp.), *Ministerial Directory of the Presbyterian Church U. S. 1861-1941* (Atlanta, 1950), 273
Hardie, Robert, Jr.	2nd La. Inf. Regt.	Methodist	*RLCS*, III, Bk. 1, 184; *Minutes of the Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church South for the Year, 1864* (Nashville, 1870), 500; Appointment Bk., No. 282
Hubert, Darius, S. J.	1st La. Inf. Regt.	Catholic	*RLCS*, III, Bk. 1, 373; Appointment Bk., No. 6; Albert H. Biever, S. J., *The Jesuits in New Orleans and the Mississippi Valley* (New Orleans, 1924), 110
Ivy, James A.	16th La. Inf. Regt.	Methodist	*RLCS*, III, Bk. 1, 414; Carter Rownd, "History of Co. D, 16th Regt." (MS. in possession of John Purser, Southeastern Louisiana College)
Parnall, T. G.	3rd Regt. La. Cav.		*RLCS*, III, Bk. 2, 74

*The author has considered as commissioned chaplains only those whose names appeared in one of the following authorities: Andrew B. Booth (compiler), *Records of Louisiana Confederate Soldiers and Louisiana Confederate Commands* (3 vols., New Orleans, 1920); The Confederate Chaplain Appointment Book, MS. in National Archives, Washington, D. C. Others whose names appeared only in newspapers, church journals, or denominational histories are considered to be missionaries or, possibly, acting chaplains.

COMMISSIONED CHAPLAINS WITH LOUISIANA UNITS—Continued

Name	*Unit*	*Denomination*	*Authority*
McCarthy, F.	9th La. Inf. Regt.		*RLCS*, III, Bk. 1, 1136
New, Robert A.	11th La. Inf. Regt.		*RLCS*, III, Bk. 1, 1270
Reed, R. H.	5th La. Inf. Regt.		*RLCS*, III, Bk. 2, 269
Robert, P. G.	2nd La. Inf. Regt.	Episcopal	*RLCS*, III, Bk. 2, 339; *Journal of the 68th Annual Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Virginia Held in St. Paul's Church, Richmond on the 20th, 21st, and 22nd of May 1863* (Richmond, 1863), 86.
Scurlock, Joshua F.	Cres. Regt. La. Inf.	Methodist	*RLCS*, III, Bk. 2, 501; *Missionary Report and Minutes of the Session of the Louisiana Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South* (Mt. Lebanon, 1863), 9, 15
Sheeran, James, C. SS. R.	14th La. Inf. Regt.	Catholic	*RLCS*, III, Bk. 2, 535; Appointment Bk., No. 63
Smulders, Egidius, C. SS. R.	8th La. Inf. Regt.	Catholic	Appointment Bk., No. 32
Stickney, G. W.	14th La. Inf. Regt.	Episcopal	*RLCS*, III, Bk. 2, 707; Carter and Carter, *So Great a Good*, 113; *Church Intelligencer*, July 25, 1861
Stuart, Charles B.	8th La. Cav.		*RLCS*, III, Bk. 2, 730

Suratt, S. B.	19th La. Inf. Regt.	Methodist	*RLCS*, III, Bk. 2, 746
Sweeney, S.	1st La. Cav.		*RLCS*, III, Bk. 2, 755
Thompson, Z.	25th La. Inf. Regt.		*RLCS*, III, Bk. 2, 826
Turgis, Francois I.	30th La. Inf. Regt.	Catholic	*RLCS*, III, Bk. 2, 885; Appointment Bk., No. 318
Turner, P.	3rd La. Cav.		*RLCS*, III, Bk. 2, 890
Warren, William	Pointe Coupee Arty.		*RLCS*, III, Bk. 2, 998

MISSIONARIES AND/OR ACTING CHAPLAINS

Name	*Unit*	*Denomination*	*Authority*
Alexander, Benjamin F.		Methodist	*Missionary Report and Minutes of the Session of the Louisiana Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South* (Mt. Lebanon, 1863), 9. (Hereinafter cited *CMEC*.)
Baldwin, Thomas R.		Methodist	*CMEC* (1864), 16
Boglioli, Charles		Catholic	*The De Andrein,* XVI (May, 1946), 8
Carter, Charles W.		Methodist	Judge T. C. Ellis of New Orleans annotated the *Catalogue of the officers and students in Centenary College of Louisiana for the Academic year, 1852-53.* He has written beside the name of Carter that he was a chaplain, C.S.A.
Clemmons, A. E.		Baptist	Floy Finis Schochler, "Louisiana Baptist and the War for Southern Independence" (M.A. thesis, L.S.U., 1958), 57
Frost, Wade H.		Methodist	*CMEC* (1863), 15
Hall, James M.		Presbyterian	Rev. B. Charles Bell (comp.), *Presbyterianism in North Louisiana to 1929* (Shreveport, 1930), 96
Hay, A. L.		Baptist	Schochler, "Louisiana Baptist and the War for Southern Independence," 29

Kenner, John C.	Methodist	*CMEC* (1864), 16
Montgomery, S. M.	Presbyterian	*Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America* (Columbia, 1863), 200
O'Keefe, M.	Catholic	Dom Aidan Henry Germain, *Catholic Military and Naval Chaplains 1776-1917* (Washington, 1929), 127
Palmer, Benjamin Morgan	Presbyterian	Biographical file, Louisiana State Museum Library
Prescott, John Q.	Baptist	Rev. W. E. Paxton, *A History of the Baptist of Louisiana from the Earliest Times to the Present* (St. Louis, 1888), 499
White, Fred	Methodist	*CMEC* (1863) 15; Robert Henry Harper, *Louisiana Methodism* (Washington, 1949), 91
White, Thomas B.	Methodist	*CMEC* (1864), 16
Wright, James L.	Methodist	*CMEC* (1864), 16
Young, William C.	Methodist	*CMEC* (1864), 16

LOUISIANA CLERGY COMMISSIONED IN OTHER THAN LOUISIANA UNITS

Name	*Unit*	*Denomination*	*Authority*
Markham, Thomas R...	Gen. Featherstone's Brigade	Presbyterian	Louis Voss (comp.), *Presbyterianism in New Orleans and the Adjacent Parts* (New Orleans, 1931), 182
Bakewell, Alexander G.	28th Miss. Inf. Regt.	Episcopal	Appointment Bk., No. 491
Hackett, John Alexander	18th Miss. Inf. Regt.	Baptist	Appointment Bk., No. 57; Floy Finis Schochler, "Louisiana Baptist in the War for Southern Independence" (M.A. thesis, L.S.U., 1958), 57

NOTE: The late Roger Baudier, Sr., K.S.G., author of *The Catholic Church in Louisiana* (New Orleans, 1939), and Mrs. Alice Alben, acting head librarian, Centenary College of Louisiana, assisted the author in obtaining some of the information contained in these charts.

Military Events in Louisiana During the Civil War, 1861-1865

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IN THE VOLUMINOUS WRITINGS on the Civil War the region of the upper South has been considered the battle ground of the War and the military activity in the region of the lower South has received only minor attention. The important struggle for the control of New Orleans and the Mississippi River has overshadowed the numerous other military events which occurred throughout the Confederate State of Louisiana. The military activity in Louisiana began during the first year of the War with the seizure of Federal Forts and Barracks and the fighting became most active during the last two years of the War. This compilation of more than five hundred military events at over two hundred and fifty different places will give some indication as to the extent of the War in Louisiana.

This list of military activities in Louisiana is compiled from *The War of the Rebellion: Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* and it does not include any military events which are not described in these documents. The location of each military event is identified by the type of incident and the date it occurred. Standard military terms from the *Army Regulations and Rules of War of the Confederate States* are used to describe the types of military events. The following definitions of terms will aid the reader in using this list of military events:

1. Action: Stresses the idea of active, frequently sharp, offensive and defensive operations. It is brief and partial.
2. Affair: A small unimportant engagement. An occurrence of comparatively slight consequence. A fight.
3. Assault: The final phase of an attack.
4. Attack: Implies aggression or aggressiveness and literally the initiation of a struggle. Opposed to defense. Onslaught.
5. Battle: Usually a prolonged combat between large numbers of troops. One continuous conflict between entire armies which may last for days.
6. Bombardment: An attack with artillery; to assail vigorously or persistently.
7. Campaign: A connected series of military operations forming a distinct stage in a war.
8. Capture: To seize by force or stratagem.
9. Demonstration: An exhibition of force, or a movement indicating an attack as to show readiness for war if necessary.
10. Engagement: A general encounter, as between entire armies, or a minor encounter, as between subdivisions or outpost. A protracted war, including many battles.
11. Evacuation: Withdrawal of troops from a town, fortress, etc.
12. Expedition: A journey for a specific purpose, as a military or exploring expedition; also, the body of persons making such an excursion.
13. Mutiny: Insurrection against or refusal to obey military authority.
14. Occupation: To hold possession of; to utilize an area or place for a purpose.
15. Operation: A military and/or naval action or mission

including movement, supply attack, defense, and all requisite maneuvers.

16. Raid: A foray. Originally an inroad or incursion of mounted men. A sudden or rapid attack by an armed force.

17. Reconnaissance: An examination of a territory to gain information of enemy troops, of the terrain, or of resources.

18. Scout: To reconnoiter.

19. Seizure: A sudden attack.

20. Siege: The besetting of a fortified place by an army to compel surrender. A continued attempt to gain possession.

21. Skirmish: A light engagement, especially between small detachments or scattered troops. An encounter usually incidental to larger movements. A slight fight.

	Place	*Type of Event*	*Date*
1.	ALABAMA BAYOU	SKIRMISH	Sept. 20, 1864
2.	ALEXANDER'S CREEK	SKIRMISH	Oct. 5, 1864
3.	ALEXANDRIA	OCCUPATION	May 6, 1863
		SKIRMISHES	Apr. 26-May 13, 1864
4.	AMITE RIVER	AFFAIR	Apr. 12, 1863
		EXPEDITIONS	Sept. 24-29, 1863 Oct. 2-8, 1864 Mar. 26-29, 1865
		RECONNAISSANCE	June 27-29, 1862
		SKIRMISHES	July 24, 1862 Apr. 17, 1863 July 25, 1864 Dec. 12, 1864 Mar. 18, 1865
5.	AMITE RIVER AND JACKSON RAILROAD	EXPEDITION	Mar. 21-29, 1863
		OPERATIONS	May 9-18, 1863
6.	ASHTON	SKIRMISH	May 1, 1864
7.	ASHWOOD LANDING	SKIRMISHES	May 1, 1864 May 4, 1864
8.	ATCHAFALAYA	SKIRMISHES	July 21, 1864 Oct. 5, 1864
9.	ATCHAFALAYA RIVER	EXPEDITIONS	May 30-June 5, 1864 Dec. 16-19, 1864
		OPERATIONS	Feb. 10-14, 1863
		SKIRMISHES	June 4, 1863 Sept. 8-9, 1863 Sept. 20, 1863 Aug. 25, 1864 Sept. 17, 1864
10.	AVOYELLES PRAIRIE	SKIRMISH	May 15, 1864
11.	BARRE'S LANDING	ATTACK ON STEAMER LA BELLE	May 22, 1863
		EXPEDITION	Apr. 21, 1863

Place	*Type of Event*	*Date*
	OPERATIONS	May 21-26, 1863
	SKIRMISH	Oct. 21, 1863
12. BATON ROUGE	AFFAIR	July 29, 1864
	BURNING OF STATE HOUSE	Dec. 28, 1862
	ENGAGEMENT	Aug. 5, 1862
	EVACUATION AND SKIRMISH	Aug. 20-21, 1862
	EXPEDITIONS	June 7-9, 1862 May 8-22, 1865
	OPERATIONS	July 27-Aug. 6, 1862 Sept. 25, 1863 July 3-25, 1864
	RECONNAISSANCES	May 12, 1863 May 13, 1863
	REOCCUPATION	Dec. 17, 1862
	SEIZURE OF ARSENAL AND BARRACKS	Jan. 10, 1861
	SKIRMISHES	Aug. 20, 1862 Sept. 19, 1863 Mar. 3, 1864 Mar. 8, 1864 Apr. 15, 1864 May 3, 1864
13. BAYOU GOULA	EXPEDITIONS	Feb. 14-18, 1865 Apr. 21-22, 1865
	RAID	June 19, 1863
	SCOUT	Mar. 23-24, 1865
	SKIRMISHES	Jan. 24, 1865 May 9, 1865
14. BAYOU SARA	AFFAIRS	Aug. 10, 1862 Aug. 23, 1862 Nov. 9, 1863
	EXPEDITIONS	Sept. 6-7, 1864 Oct. 3-6, 1864
	SKIRMISHES	Oct. 4, 1864 Oct. 9-10, 1864
15. BAYOU SARA ROAD	OPERATIONS	May 18-19, 1863
16. BEAUREGARD, FORT	ATTACK	May 10, 1863
	CAPTURE	Sept. 4, 1863

Place	Type of Event	Date
17. BELLE RIVER	EXPEDITION	Oct. 22-24, 1864
18. BENTON'S FERRY	SKIRMISH	July 25, 1864
19. BERWICK	AFFAIR	May 1, 1864
	OPERATIONS	May 21-26, 1863
	SKIRMISHES	June 1, 1863 Apr. 26, 1864
20. BERWICK, BAY	ACTION	June 23, 1863
	NAVAL OPERATIONS	Nov. 1-6, 1862
21. BISLAND, FORT	ENGAGEMENT	Apr. 12-13, 1863
	SKIRMISH	Apr. 12, 1864
22. BLACK BAYOU	SKIRMISHES	Mar. 19, 1864 May 4, 1865
23. BLACK RIVER	OPERATIONS	Feb. 10-14, 1863
	SKIRMISH	May 5, 1863
24. BLAIR'S LANDING	ENGAGEMENT	Apr. 12-13, 1864
25. BOEUF BAYOU	EXPEDITION	Apr. 29-30, 1863
	SKIRMISHES	Apr. 22, 1863 May 7, 1864
26. BOEUF BAYOU CROSSING	CAPTURE OF UNION FORCES	June 24, 1863
27. BONFOUCA BAYOU	EXPEDITION	Jan. 31-Feb. 1, 1865
	SKIRMISH	Nov. 21, 1862
28. BONNETT CARRÉ	SKIRMISH	Oct. 19, 1862
29. BORGNE LAKE	AFFAIR	Nov. 22, 1863
30. BOURBEAU BAYOU	ENGAGEMENT	Nov. 3, 1863
	SKIRMISH	Nov. 2, 1863
31. BOUTTE STATION	AFFAIR	Sept. 5, 1862
32. BOYCE'S BRIDGE	SKIRMISH	May 14, 1863
33. BOYCE'S PLANTATION	SKIRMISH	May 6, 1864
34. BRASHEAR CITY	CAPTURE	June 23, 1863
	EXPEDITION	Feb. 3-6, 1864
	OPERATIONS	Apr. 30-May 12, 1865
	REOCCUPATION	July 22, 1863
	SKIRMISH	June 21, 1863

Place	*Type of Event*	*Date*
35. BREAUX BRIDGE	EXPEDITION	Apr. 17-21, 1863
36. BROWN'S PLANTATION	SKIRMISH	May 11, 1865
37. BULLITT'S BAYOU	SKIRMISHES	Aug. 25, 1864 Sept. 14, 1864
38. BUTTE A LA ROSE	CAPTURE BY UNION FLEET	Apr. 20, 1863
39. BUZZARD'S PRAIRIE	ENGAGEMENT	Nov. 3, 1863
	SKIRMISH	Nov. 2, 1863
40. CALCASIEU PASS	OPERATIONS	May 6-10, 1864
41. CALEDONIA	SKIRMISH	May 10, 1863
42. CAMPTI	SKIRMISHES	Mar. 26, 1864 Apr. 4, 1864
43. CANE RIVER	ENGAGEMENT	Apr. 26-27, 1864
44. CANE RIVER CROSSING	ENGAGEMENT	Apr. 23, 1864
45. CARRION CROW BAYOU	SKIRMISHES	Oct. 14-15, 1863 Oct. 18, 1863 Nov. 3, 1863 Nov. 11, 1863 Nov. 18, 1863
46. CENTREVILLE	ENGAGEMENT	Apr. 12-13, 1863
	SKIRMISH	May 25, 1863
47. CHACAHOULA	SKIRMISH	May 3, 1865
48. CHACAHOULA STATION	SKIRMISH	June 24, 1863
49. CHEMISE BAYOU	SCOUT	Mar. 24, 1865
50. CHENEYVILLE	AFFAIR	May 18, 1863
	SKIRMISH	May 20, 1863
51. CHICOTVILLE	EXPEDITION	Apr. 29-30, 1863
52. CHOCTAW BAYOU (Bruin Lake)	SKIRMISH	Apr. 28, 1863
53. CLARK'S BAYOU	SKIRMISH	Apr. 26, 1863
54. CLINTON	EXPEDITIONS	June 3-8, 1863

Place	Type of Event	Date
		July 17-18, 1864 Aug. 23-29, 1864 Oct. 5-9, 1864 Dec. 23-24, 1864 Mar. 1-12, 1865 Mar. 30, 1865 Apr. 2, 1865
	SKIRMISHES	May 1, 1864 Nov. 15, 1864
55. CLINTON ROAD	SCOUT	May 14, 1863
56. CLOUTIERVILLE	SKIRMISHES	Mar. 29-30, 1864 Apr. 22-24, 1864
57. COLUMBIA	SKIRMISH	Feb. 4, 1864
58. COMITE RIVER	EXPEDITION	Mar. 30-Apr. 2, 1865
	SKIRMISHES	Mar. 9-10, 1863 May 2, 1863 Aug. 25, 1864
59. CONCORDIA	SKIRMISH	July 22, 1864
60. COTILE LANDING	SKIRMISH	Apr. 25, 1864
61. COURTABLEAU BAYOU	SKIRMISH	May 22, 1863
62. COVINGTON	SKIRMISH	July 27, 1862
63. COX'S PLANTATION	ENGAGEMENTS	July 12-13, 1863
64. CROSS BAYOU	SKIRMISH	July 4, 1864
65. CRUMP'S HILL	SKIRMISH	Apr. 2, 1864
66. CYPRESS CREEK	SKIRMISH	Mar. 8, 1864
67. DALLAS STATION	EXPEDITION	Dec. 25-26, 1862
68. DAVID'S FERRY	CAPTURE OF U.S. TRANSPORT EMMA	May 1, 1864
	ENGAGEMENT	May 4-5, 1864
69. DAVIS' BEND	SKIRMISH	June 29, 1864
70. DAVISON'S FORD	EXPEDITION	July 17-18, 1864
71. DE GLAIZE BAYOU	ENGAGEMENT	May 18, 1864
	SKIRMISH	May 17, 1864
72. DE LARGE BAYOU	AFFAIR	May 27, 1865
	EXPEDITION	May 25-27, 1865

Place	Type of Event	Date
73. DELHI	EXPEDITION	Dec. 25-26, 1862
74. DELOACH'S BLUFF	ENGAGEMENT	Apr. 26, 1864
75. DE PAUL BAYOU	SKIRMISH	Apr. 8, 1864
76. DE RUSSY, FORT	CAPTURE	Mar. 14, 1864
	ENGAGEMENT	May 4, 1863
	EVACUATION	Apr. 23-25, 1863
77. DES ALLEMANDS	SKIRMISH	July 18, 1863
78. DES ALLEMANDS BAYOU	AFFAIR	Sept. 4, 1862
	SKIRMISHES	June 20, 1862 June 22, 1862
79. DESERT STATION	SKIRMISH	Dec. 10, 1862
80. DONALDSONVILLE	AFFAIRS	Sept. 23, 1863 July 31, 1864 Sept. 4, 1864
	ATTACK	June 28, 1863
	BOMBARDMENT	Aug. 9, 1862
	CAPTURE	Oct. 25, 1862
	EXPEDITION AND SKIRMISH	Sept. 21-25, 1862
	SCOUT	Jan. 19-20, 1865
	SKIRMISH	Feb. 8, 1864
81. DOYAL'S PLANTATION	AFFAIR	Aug. 5, 1864
	SKIRMISH	Nov. 29, 1864
82. DUNBAR'S PLANTATION	SKIRMISHES	Apr. 7, 1863 Apr. 15, 1863
83. DUNN'S BAYOU	ENGAGEMENT	May 5, 1864
84. EASTERN LOUISIANA	OPERATIONS	Oct. 2-11, 1864
85. FALSE RIVER	RECONNAISSANCE	Mar. 19, 1863
86. FAUSSE POINTE LAKE	EXPEDITION	Sept. 7-11, 1864
	SKIRMISH	Nov. 18, 1864

	Place	Type of Event	Date
87.	FAUSSE RIVER	EXPEDITION	Sept. 13-17, 1864
		SCOUT	Feb. 7-10, 1865
88.	FRANKLINTON	EXPEDITION	Feb. 1-3, 1864
89.	FRENCH SETTLEMENT	EXPEDITION	Apr. 2-5, 1865
90.	GENTILLY'S PLANTATION (near Natchez Bayou)	SKIRMISH	Sept. 1, 1864
91.	GEORGIA LANDING	ACTION	Oct. 27, 1862
92.	GOODRICH'S LANDING	ATTACK	June 30, 1863
		EXPEDITION	Aug. 28-31, 1864
		SKIRMISH	Mar. 24, 1864
93.	GRAHAM'S PLANTATION	SKIRMISH	May 5, 1864
94.	GRAND BAYOU	EXPEDITIONS	Feb. 14-18, 1865 Apr. 2-10, 1865
		SKIRMISH	Apr. 4, 1865
95.	GRAND CAILLOU	EXPEDITION	Apr. 19-25, 1865
96.	GRAND CAILLOU BAYOU	AFFAIR	Nov. 23, 1864
		CAPTURE OF BLOCKADE RUNNER	May 8, 1862
		EXPEDITION	Nov. 19-27, 1864
97.	GRAND COTEAU	SKIRMISHES	Oct. 16, 1863 Oct. 19, 1863
98.	GRAND ECORE	RETREAT OF UNION FORCES	Apr. 10-11, 1864
		SKIRMISHES	Apr. 16, 1864 Apr. 3, 1864 Apr. 29, 1864
99.	GRAND LAKE	EXPEDITION	Sept. 7-11, 1864
100.	GRAND RIVER	EXPEDITIONS	Sept. 7-11, 1864 Sept. 26-30, 1864 Jan. 18-19, 1865
		SCOUT	Jan. 29-Feb. 7, 1865

Place	*Type of Event*	*Date*
	SKIRMISH	Aug.—, 1864
101. GREENSBURG	EXPEDITION	Oct. 5-9, 1864
	SKIRMISH	May 1, 1863
102. GREENWELL SPRINGS ROAD	SKIRMISHES	Sept. 19, 1863 Oct. 5, 1863
103. GROSSETETE	SKIRMISH	Feb. 19, 1864
104. GROSSETETE BAYOU	AFFAIR	June 19, 1864
	SCOUT	Feb. 7-10, 1865
	SKIRMISH	Apr. 2, 1864
105. HARD TIMES LANDING	EXPEDITION	Apr. 25-29, 1863
106. HARRISONBURG	ACTION	Mar. 1-4, 1864
	EXPEDITION	Sept. 1-7, 1863
	SKIRMISH	Sept. 4, 1863
107. HENDERSON'S HILL	AFFAIR	Mar. 21, 1864
108. HERMITAGE LANDING	EXPEDITION	Mar. 24, 1863
109. HERMITAGE PLANTATION	OPERATIONS	Dec. 14, 1864-Jan. 5, 1865
110. HIGHLAND STOCKADE	AFFAIR	July 29, 1864
111. HODGE'S PLANTATION	SKIRMISH	Sept. 11, 1864
112. HOG POINT (Mississippi River)	OPERATIONS	Nov. 18-21, 1863
113. HOUMA	OPERATIONS	May 11-18, 1862
114. HUBBARD, CAMP	MUTINY	Aug. 29-30, 1863
115. INDEPENDENCE STATION	SKIRMISH	May 15, 1863
116. INDIAN BAYOU	SKIRMISH	Nov. 9, 1863

Place	Type of Event	Date
117. INDIAN BEND	EXPEDITION	Mar. 25-27, 1865
	SKIRMISH	Apr. 13, 1863
118. INDIAN VILLAGE	SKIRMISHES	Jan. 28, 1863 Aug. 6, 1864
119. IRISH BEND	ENGAGEMENT	Apr. 14, 1863
120. JACKSON	EXPEDITIONS	Mar. 1-12, 1865 Apr. 12-13, 1865
	SKIRMISHES	Aug. 3, 1863 Mar. 3, 1864 Oct. 5, 1864
121. JACKSON, FORT	BOMBARDMENT AND CAPTURE	Apr. 18-28, 1862
	MUTINY	Dec. 9, 1863
	SEIZURE	Jan. 10, 1861
122. JACKSON RAILROAD	OPERATIONS	May 9-18, 1863
123. JAMES PLANTATION	SKIRMISHES	Apr. 6, 1863 Apr. 8, 1863
124. JEANERETTE	SKIRMISH	Apr. 14, 1863
125. KITTREDGE'S SUGAR HOUSE	SKIRMISH	Feb. 10, 1865
126. LABADIEVILLE	ACTION	Oct. 27, 1862
	AFFAIR	Sept. 8, 1864
127. LA FOURCHE	ENGAGEMENT	July 12-13, 1863
128. LA FOURCHE CROSSING	ENGAGEMENT	June 20-21, 1863
129. LA FOURCHE DISTRICT	OPERATIONS	Oct. 24-Nov. 6, 1862
130. LAKE PROVIDENCE	ACTION	June 9, 1863
	SKIRMISHES	May 24, 1863 May 27, 1863 June 24, 1863 June 28, 1863
131. LAKE ST. JOSEPH	AFFAIR	June 4, 1863
	EXPEDITION	Apr. 24, 1863

Place	*Type of Event*	*Date*
132. LAMOURIE BAYOU	SKIRMISHES	May 6-7, 1864 May 12, 1864
133. LIDDELL BAYOU	SKIRMISH	Oct. 15, 1864
134. LIVINGSTON, FORT	RECAPTURE	Apr. 27, 1862
135. LIVONIA	SKIRMISH	May 31, 1864
136. McNUTT'S HILL	SKIRMISH	Apr. 26, 1864
137. McWILLIAMS' PLANTATION	SKIRMISH	Apr. 13, 1863
138. MACOMB, FORT	SEIZURE	Jan. 28, 1861
139. MACON BAYOU	EXPEDITIONS	Aug. 28-31, 1864 Nov. 6-8, 1864 Sept. 27-29, 1863
	SKIRMISHES	May 10, 1863 Aug. 24, 1863
140. MADISONVILLE	EXPEDITION	Jan. 3, 1864
	SKIRMISHES	July 27, 1862 Feb. 11, 1864
141. MAGNOLIA LANDING	ATTACK ON UNION GUNBOATS	June 16, 1864
142. MANCHAC BAYOU	EXPEDITION	Oct. 2-8, 1864
143. MANDEVILLE	EXPEDITION	Jan. 15-17, 1865
144. MANSFIELD	BATTLE	Apr. 8, 1864
145. MANSURA (Belle Prairie)	ENGAGEMENT	May 16, 1864
146. MARINGOUIN BAYOU	SKIRMISHES	Sept. 13, 1864 Sept. 16, 1864
147. MARKSVILLE PRAIRIE	SKIRMISHES	Mar. 15, 1864 May 15, 1864
148. MARTIN'S LANE	SKIRMISH	Feb. 15, 1865
149. MERRITT'S PLANTATION	SCOUT	May 14, 1863
	OPERATIONS	May 18-19, 1863
150. MILLIKEN'S BEND	AFFAIR	Aug. 18, 1862
	ATTACK	June 7, 1863

Place	Type of Event	Date
	EXPEDITION	Dec. 25-26, 1862
	OPERATIONS	Mar. 31-Apr. 17, 1863
	SKIRMISH	June 25, 1863
151. MONNETT'S FERRY	ENGAGEMENT	Apr. 23, 1864
	SKIRMISH	Mar. 29-30, 1864
152. MONROE	EXPEDITION	Aug. 20-Sept. 2, 1863
153. MOORE, CAMP	EXPEDITION	Oct. 5-9, 1864
154. MOORE'S PLANTATION	SKIRMISHES	May 1-4, 1864
155. MOREAUVILLE	ACTION	May 17, 1864
156. MORGAN'S FERRY	EXPEDITION	Dec. 13-14, 1864
	SKIRMISHES	Sept. 7, 1863 Sept. 20, 1863 Aug. 25, 1864 Sept. 20, 1864
157. MORGAN'S FERRY ROAD	SKIRMISH	July 28, 1864
158. MORGANZA	EXPEDITION	Jan. 12-15, 1865
	OPERATIONS	Sept. 16-25, 1864 Dec. 14, 1864-Jan. 5, 1865
	SCOUTS	Aug. 10-12, 1864
	SKIRMISHES	Sept. 12, 1863 May 24, 1864 June 4, 1864 July 28, 1864 Oct. 16, 1864 Nov. 23, 1864 Dec. 4, 1864
159. MORGANZA BEND	SKIRMISH	Mar. 12, 1865
160. MOUND PLANTATION	SKIRMISHES	May 24, 1863 June 24, 1863 June 29, 1863
161. MOUNT PLEASANT LANDING	ATTACK	May 15, 1864
162. NAPOLEONVILLE	RAID	May 6, 1864

Place	*Type of Event*	*Date*
	SKIRMISHES	July 29, 1864 Feb. 10, 1865
163. NATCHEZ LAKE	EXPEDITIONS	Aug. 15-21, 1864 Sept. 7-11, 1864
164. NATCHEZ BAYOU	EXPEDITION	Aug. 30-Sept. 2, 1864
165. NATCHITOCHES	SKIRMISHES	Mar. 31, 1864 Apr. 5, 1864 Apr. 20-21, 1864 May 5, 1864
166. NELSON'S BRIDGE	AFFAIR	Oct. 4, 1863
167. NEW CARTHAGE	OPERATIONS	Mar. 31-Apr. 17, 1863
	SKIRMISH	Apr. 5, 1863
168. NEW IBERIA	AFFAIR	Oct. 4, 1863
	DESTRUCTION OF SALT-WORKS	Apr. 18, 1863
169. NEW ORLEANS	OPERATIONS AGAINST AND CAPTURE OF	Apr. 18-May 1, 1862
	SEIZURE OF PAYMASTER'S OFFICE	Feb. 19, 1861
170. NEWPORT CROSSROADS	SKIRMISH	June 17, 1864
171. NEW RIVER	EXPEDITIONS	Sept. 24-29, 1863 Oct. 2-8, 1864
	SKIRMISH	Feb. 9, 1864
172. NEW ROADS	EXPEDITION	Jan. 31, 1865
173. NEW TEXAS ROAD	SKIRMISH	Dec. 4, 1864
174. NEWTOWN	SKIRMISH	Apr. 16, 1863
175. NIBLETT'S BLUFF	EXPEDITION	May 26-29, 1863
176. OLD OAKS	ENGAGEMENT	May 18, 1864
	SKIRMISH	May 17, 1864
177. OLD RIVER	SKIRMISH	Feb. 10, 1863
178. OLIVE BRANCH	SKIRMISHES	Aug. 5, 1864 Aug. 25, 1864

Place	Type of Event	Date
179. OLIVE BRANCH BAYOU	SKIRMISH	May 3, 1864
180. OPELOUSAS	AFFAIR	Oct. 30, 1863
	EXPEDITION	Apr. 17-21, 1863
	OCCUPATIONS	Apr. 20, 1863 Oct. 21, 1863
	RECONNAISSANCE	Oct. 20, 1863
	SKIRMISH	Oct. 21, 1863
	UNION FORCES RETIRE FROM	Nov. 1-17, 1863
181. ORANGE GROVE	AFFAIR	July 31, 1864
182. OSYKA	EXPEDITION	Oct. 5-9, 1864
183. OUACHITA RIVER	OPERATIONS	Mar. 1-4, 1864
184. OYSTER BAYOU	EXPEDITION	Mar. 25-28, 1865
185. PARK, THE	EXPEDITIONS	Jan. 26-Feb. 4, 1865 Feb. 17-22, 1865 Apr. 2-10, 1865
186. PASS MANCHAC	EXPEDITIONS	July 25-Aug. 2, 1862 Sept. 13-15, 1862
	SCOUT	Feb. 8-11, 1863
	SKIRMISH	June 17, 1862
187. PATTERSONVILLE	RECONNAISSANCE	Aug. 2, 1864
	SKIRMISH	Apr. 11, 1863
188. PEARL RIVER	EXPEDITIONS	July 25-Aug. 2, 1862 Sept. 9-12, 1864 Apr. 1-10, 1864
189. PELTON'S PLANTATION	EXPEDITION	Apr. 19-25, 1865
190. PESTHOUSE (Opposite Port Hudson)	ATTACK	May 28, 1864
191. PETITE ANSE ISLAND	AFFAIRS	Nov. 21-22, 1862
192. PHELPS' BAYOU	SKIRMISH	Apr. 26, 1863
193. PIERRE BAYOU	SKIRMISHES	May 2-3, 1864

Place	Type of Event	Date
194. PIGEON BAYOU	EXPEDITIONS	Sept. 7-11, 1864 Sept. 26-30, 1864 Mar. 20-22, 1865
195. PIKE, FORT	RECAPTURE	Apr. 27, 1862
	SEIZURE	Jan. 14, 1861
196. PINEVILLE	SKIRMISH	Apr. 24, 1864
197. PIN HOOK	SKIRMISH	May 10, 1863
198. PLAIN'S STORE ROAD	ACTION	May 21, 1863
	SKIRMISH	May 23, 1863
199. PLANTON BAYOU	EXPEDITION	Jan. 30-31, 1865
200. PLAQUEMINE	AFFAIRS	Dec. 29, 1862 Dec. 31, 1862-Jan. 3, 1863 Apr. 18, 1863
	SKIRMISHES	June 18, 1863 Aug. 6, 1864
201. PLAQUEMINE BAYOU	EXPEDITION	Apr. 22-23, 1863
	OPERATIONS	Feb. 12-28, 1863
202. PLEASANT GROVE	BATTLE	Apr. 8, 1864
203. PLEASANT HILL	ENGAGEMENT	Apr. 9, 1864
	SKIRMISH	Apr. 7, 1864
204. PLEASANT HILL LANDING	ENGAGEMENT	Apr. 12-13, 1864
205. POINT PLEASANT	AFFAIR	June 25, 1864
206. PONCHATOULA	EXPEDITIONS	July 5-8, 1862 Sept. 13-15, 1862 Mar. 21-30, 1863
	SKIRMISH	May 13, 1863
207. PONTCHARTRAIN, LAKE	OPERATIONS	July 25-Aug. 2, 1862
	SCOUT	Sept. 13-Oct. 2, 1863
208. PORTAGE BAYOU	AFFAIR	Nov. 23, 1863
	EXPEDITION	Nov. 17-19, 1864
209. PORTER'S PLANTATION	SKIRMISH	Apr. 13, 1863

Place	*Type of Event*	*Date*
210. PORT HUDSON	ASSAULTS	May 27, 1863 June 14, 1863
	ATTACK ON STEAMER WHITE CLOUD	Aug. 29, 1864
	CAPTURE OF CONFEDERATE OUTPOST	June 11, 1863
	CAPTURE OF UNION OUTPOST	June 26, 1863
	DEMONSTRATION	Mar. 14-15, 1863
	ENGAGEMENTS	Aug. 29, 1862 Sept. 7, 1862 Mar. 14-15, 1863
	EXPEDITION	Mar. 17, 1863
	OCCUPATION BY CONFEDERATES	Aug. 15, 1862
	OPERATIONS	Mar. 7-27, 1863
	SIEGE	May 21-July 8, 1863
	SKIRMISHES	Nov. 30, 1863 Apr. 7, 1864
211. PRATT, CAMP	AFFAIR	Nov. 25, 1863
	SKIRMISH	Nov. 20, 1863
212. RACCOURCI	AFFAIR	Nov. 25, 1864
213. RAPIDES BAYOU	SKIRMISH	Mar. 20, 1864
214. RAPIDES BAYOU BRIDGE	SKIRMISH	Apr. 26, 1864
215. RATLIFF'S LANDING	ATTACK ON UNION GUNBOATS	June 15, 1864
216. RATLIFF'S PLANTATION	EXPEDITION	May 14-16, 1865
217. RED RIVER	CAMPAIGN	Mar. 10-May 22, 1864
	ENGAGEMENT	Apr. 26-27, 1864
	EXPEDITION	Oct. 14-20, 1863
	OPERATIONS	Feb. 10-14, 1863
	SKIRMISH	Oct. 14, 1863
218. REDWOOD BAYOU	SKIRMISH	May 3, 1864

Place	Type of Event	Date
219. RICHLAND PLANTATION	SKIRMISH	Jan. 30, 1865
220. RICHMOND	ACTION	June 15, 1863
	RECONNAISSANCE	June 20, 1863
	SKIRMISHES	Jan. 29, 1863 Mar. 31, 1863 Apr. 4, 1863 June 6, 1863
221. ROBERT BAYOU	SKIRMISH	May 8, 1864
222. ROBERT'S FORD	SKIRMISH	May 2, 1863
223. ROSEDALE	EXPEDITION	Feb. 19, 1863
	SKIRMISH	Sept. 15, 1864
224. SABINE CROSSROADS	ENGAGEMENT	Apr. 8, 1864
225. ST. CHARLES COURTHOUSE	EXPEDITION	Sept. 7-8, 1862
	SKIRMISHES	Aug. 29, 1862 Oct. 5, 1864
226. ST. FRANCISVILLE	SKIRMISH	Oct. 5, 1864
227. ST. JOSEPH	CAPTURE OF CONFEDERATE MAIL	Oct. 8, 1864
228. ST. MARTINSVILLE	AFFAIR	Dec. 3, 1863
	OPERATIONS	Nov. 12, 1863
	RECONNAISSANCE	Dec. 13, 1863
229. ST. PHILIP, FORT	BOMBARDMENT	Apr. 18-28, 1862
	SEIZURE	Jan. 10, 1861
230. ST. VINCENT BAYOU	SCOUT	May 24, 1865
231. SALINE BAYOU	SKIRMISH	Apr. 14, 1864
232. SICILY ISLAND	EXPEDITION	Sept. 26-30, 1864
233. SIMSPORT	ENGAGEMENTS	June 3, 1863 June 8, 1864
	EXPEDITION	July 5-7, 1864
234. SMITH'S PLANTATION	ENGAGEMENT	May 16, 1864
235. SORREL BAYOU	EXPEDITION	Jan. 21-22, 1865

Place	Type of Event	Date
236. SPRINGFIELD LANDING	AFFAIR	July 2, 1863
237. SPRINGFIELD ROAD	SKIRMISH	May 23, 1863
238. STIRLING'S PLANTATION	ACTION	Sept. 29, 1863
	SKIRMISH	Sept. 12, 1863
239. TALLULAH	SKIRMISH	Aug. 19, 1862
240. TCHEFUNCTA RIVER	EXPEDITION	July 25-Aug. 2, 1862
241. TECHE BAYOU	ENGAGEMENTS	Jan. 14, 1863 Apr. 12-13, 1863
	SKIRMISHES	Oct. 3, 1863 Mar. 21, 1865
242. TECHE COUNTRY	OPERATIONS	Oct. 3-Nov. 30, 1863
243. TECHE ROAD	OPERATIONS	May 21-26, 1863
244. TENSAS BAYOU	SKIRMISHES	May 9, 1863 Aug. 10, 1863 July 30, 1864 Aug. 26, 1864
245. THIBODAUX	CAPTURE	June 30, 1863
246. THOMPSON'S CREEK	SKIRMISHES	May 25, 1863 Oct. 5, 1864
247. THOMPSON'S PLANTATION	SKIRMISH	Jan. 23, 1865
248. TICKFAW BRIDGE	SKIRMISH	May 16, 1863
249. TRINITY	ACTION	Mar. 1-4, 1864
	EXPEDITION	Nov. 15-16, 1863
	SKIRMISH	Sept. 2, 1863
250. TUNICA BAYOU	SKIRMISH	Nov. 8, 1863
251. TUNICA BEND	AFFAIR	Apr. 21, 1864
	SKIRMISH	Nov. 8, 1863
252. VERMILION BAYOU	ACTION	Apr. 17, 1863
	SKIRMISHES	Oct. 9-10, 1863 Nov. 11, 1863 Nov. 25, 1863 Nov. 30, 1863
253. VERMILIONVILLE	SKIRMISHES	Nov. 5, 1863 Nov. 8, 1863

Place	*Type of Event*	*Date*
254. VERRET, LAKE	EXPEDITIONS	Jan. 30-31, 1865 Feb. 10-13, 1865 Apr. 2-10, 1865
	SCOUT	May 23, 1865
	SKIRMISH	Jan. 30, 1865
255. VIDALIA	ATTACK	Sept. 14, 1863
	SCOUT	Oct. 26-27, 1864
	SKIRMISHES	Feb. 7, 1864 July 22, 1864
256. WALL'S BRIDGE	SKIRMISH	May 1, 1863
257. WASHINGTON	OCCUPATION	Apr. 20, 1863
	SKIRMISHES	Oct. 24, 1863 Oct. 31, 1863 Apr. 22, 1863 May 1, 1863
258. WATERLOO	DEMONSTRATION	June 16, 1863
	SKIRMISH	Oct. 20, 1864
259. WATERPROOF	EXPEDITIONS	Jan. 29-Feb. 23, 1864 Sept. 26-30, 1864
	SKIRMISH	Apr. 20, 1864
260. WELLS' PLANTATION	SKIRMISHES	May 2, 1864 May 6, 1864
261. WHISKY BAYOU	EXPEDITION	Jan. 16-18, 1865
262. WILLIAMS' BRIDGE	SKIRMISH	May 1, 1863
263. WILLIAMSPORT	AFFAIR NEAR	Nov. 25, 1864
	SKIRMISH	Sept. 16, 1864
264. WILSON'S LANDING	SKIRMISHES	May 2, 1864 May 14, 1864
265. WILSON'S PLANTATION (Near Pleasant Hill)	SKIRMISH	Apr. 7, 1864
266. WOOD, FORT	RECAPTURE	Apr. 27, 1862
267. YELLOW BAYOU	ENGAGEMENT	May 18, 1864
	SKIRMISH	May 17, 1864
268. YORK PLANTATION	SCOUT	Oct. 26-27, 1864
269. YOUNG'S POINT	ATTACK	June 7, 1863

Pierre A. Rost's Mission to Europe, 1861-1863

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THE SELECTION OF Pierre Adolphe Rost as a member of the first Confederate commission dispatched to seek recognition from England and France has been considered one of Jefferson Davis's less fortunate appointments. In fact, nativity and early education in France as well as friendship with the Davis family and Judah Benjamin seem to have been Rost's major qualifications for the post.

Rost, born in the department of Lot-et-Garonne during 1797, was a Bonapartist veteran who had migrated to the United States after the fall of Napoleon and, almost by accident, found his way to Natchez. Here his poverty and Gallic charm attracted the attention and friendship of Joseph Davis. As the elder Davis's protege, Rost studied law and served a term in the Mississippi legislature before going to Natchitoches to practice law. Finally, in 1830, he moved to New Orleans where marriage into a prominent Creole family assured him the wealth and social prestige which gained for him in 1839 an appointment to the Supreme Court of Louisiana.[1]

[1] On the career of Rost and estimates of his work in Europe, see Ella Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy* (Chapel Hill, 1940), 67-68; *The South in the Building of the Nation* (13 vols., Richmond, 1909), XII, 360-61; James Morton Callahan, *The Diplomatic History of the Southern Confederacy* (Baltimore,

At the onset of the Civil War, Jefferson Davis sought to make use of the prestige of his old family friend in Louisiana and record as a Napoleonic exile for service in Napoleon III's Second Empire. Thus, on March 31, 1861, Rost sailed from New Orleans with William L. Yancey and the ubiquitous A. Dudley Mann and arrived in London on April 29[2]. A few weeks later, he took up residence in Paris and commenced a mission which, in the opinion of some, "earned [him] more ridicule than respect."[3]

After conversations with the Duc de Morny and the foreign minister, M. Thouvenel, in which they had shown themselves favorably disposed to *eventual* recognition, Rost n a i v e l y exuded far more enthusiam than the facts warranted.[4] Much of this optimism was based not only on the opinion that most of the French people and the Imperial government favored

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1901), 85, 111-12, 128-29; Frank L. Owsley, *King Cotton Diplomacy. Foreign Relations of the Confederate States of America* (Chicago, 1931), 53ff; Burton J. Hendrick, *Statesmen of the Lost Cause. Jefferson Davis and his Cabinet* (Boston, 1939), 140; Henry Plauche Dart, "The History of the Supreme Court of Louisiana," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly,* IV (January, 1921), 35-36; Dora J. Bonquois, "The Career of Henry Adams Bullard, Louisiana Jurist, Legislator, and Educator," *Ibid.,* XXIII (October, 1940), 1008, 1028.

[2] Cf. John Witherspoon Dubose, *The Life and Times of William Lowndes Yancey* (Birmingham, 1892), 596, 604; Callahan, *The Diplomatic History of the Southern Confederacy,* 87.

[3] Margaret Clapp, *Forgotten First Citizen: John Bigelow* (Boston, 1947), 149; Jay Monaghan, *Diplomat in Carpet Slippers: Abraham Lincoln deals with Foreign Affairs* (Indianapolis, 1954), 44. It is only fair to point out that not only Rost but the entire delegation has been judged as completely "ineffectual." Robert Douthat Meade, *Judah P. Benjamin. Confederate Statesman* (New York, 1943), 64. Yet, Davis later commended Rost along with Mason, Mann, and Slidell for having "performed with energy and skill the positions" entrusted to them in Europe. Cf. Jefferson Davis, *The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government* (2 vols., New York, 1881), II, 368.

[4] Yancey and Mann to Toombs, No. 1, May 21, 1861; Yancey, Rost, and Mann to Toombs, June 10, 1861. *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion* (30 Vols. and index, Washington, 1894-1927), Ser. 2, Vol. III, 215, 221. (Hereinafter cited as *ORN.*) Clapp, *Forgotten First Citizen,* 151; W. Reed West, *Contemporary French Opinion on the American Civil War* (Baltimore, 1924), 36-37; Owsley, *King Cotton Diplomacy,* 60-61.

the Confederate cause, but also on the conviction that the dependence of the French on American cotton would impel them to break the Federal blockade and extend *de jure* recognition to the Confederacy.[5] This impression was particularly strengthened by Thouvenel's advice to Rost and Yancey on July 15, 1861, to be patient on the matter of recognition because either a decisive Southern victory or the great demand for cotton in England and France might accomplish their objective.[6]

Five days after the interview with Thouvenel (and on the eve of the first Confederate victory at Manassas), Rost wrote to Davis to personally assure him that time was on the side of the Confederacy. But, he observed, "Two questions occupy . . . the attention of the English and French governments, how to obtain . . . cotton from the Confederate States next fall, and . . . how to pay for it" without depleting their gold supply. Whenever "approached" on these matters, he advised his interrogators that 4,500,000 bales of cotton would be available for export in Southern ports and that "the law of necessity will justify European ships in coming for it; blockade or no blockade . . ." To obviate the second difficulty, Rost reported that he had ventured to suggest to Parisian bankers that the Confederate Congress might be willing to make "for a limited time and at a determined value the notes of the Banks of England and France real tender in payment of debts, so as to give them currency in [the Confederate] states and dispense with the importation of gold . . ." Since this idea not only appealed to high banking circles in Paris and was also, according to Rost, acclaimed by some members of the Bourse as "an act of the highest statesmanship and one calculated to overcome many objections . . . to recognition" of the

[5] Yancey, Rost, and Mann to Toombs, No. 1, June 1, 1861, *ORN*, Ser. 2, Vol. III, 219-21. See also Callahan, *The Diplomatic History of the Southern Confederacy*, 112; Owsley, *King Cotton Diplomacy*, 61; West, *Contemporary French Opinion*, 37.

[6] Yancey and Mann to Toombs, No. 3, July 15, 1861, *ORN*, Ser. 2, Vol. III, 221-25; Dubose, *William Lowndes Yancey*, 607.

Confederacy at the Imperial Court, he pressed Davis to lend his support to the project.[7] Fortunately, neither the enthusiasm of the Parisian bankers nor Rost's zeal for his scheme persuaded Davis to press for the enactment of a proposal which would have placed the Confederacy at the mercy of England and France and, in the end, further weakened its economy.

In the same letter, Rost complained of William Howard Russell's reports in the London *Times* of General Gideon Pillow's ineptitude in the defence of Memphis as flagrant "misrepresentations" which prejudiced the cause of the Confederacy in Europe.[8] Yet, he was convinced that "Public opinion [in France] is getting more and more favorable" and attributed this happy trend to his success in persuading the "Editors of the semi-official press" to publish whatever information he chose to dispense. Indeed, there was little else for Rost to do than to deal with the problem of securing a good press and the support of public opinion in France for the Confederacy.[9]

Unfortunately, Rost greatly overestimated his skill as a propagandist. While his imperfect French and *haute bourgeois* manner prejudiced his status with those who mattered, his airy response of '*tout va bien*' to all queries for news of the Confederacy exposed him to ridicule. Rost's naivete actually became something of a joke when it had come to be known that his plantation in Louisiana had been seized by Federal troops.[10] But perhaps his lack of success in public relations was also the result of increasing doubt and worry concerning the prospects of the Confederacy. Thus, by the end of 1862, it became more difficult for Rost to conceal behind a facade

[7] P. A. Rost to Jefferson Davis, Paris, July 20, 1861. Manuscripts Division, Emory University Library. We are indebeted to the Emory University Library for permission to study and cite Rost's letters in the Davis Collection and particularly to Mrs. Mary Davis for her assistance in locating these materials.

[8] See William Howard Russell's shrewd comments on the General Pillow and his command in *My Diary North and South* (Boston, 1863), 305-13.

[9] Cf. Owsley, *King Cotton Diplomacy*, 62.

[10] Hendrick, *Statesmen of the Lost Cause*, 140.

of confidence the failure of Richmond's reliance on cotton shortages to extort speedy recognition from France and England.

Following the victory at Manassas on July 21, 1861, Rost had hurried to London to join his associates in pressing for at least *de facto* recognition from the English government.[11] And, in spite of the rebuff from the foreign secretary, Lord John Russell, Rost continued to cherish hopes for *early* recognition from France because of the encouragement given by Southern sympathizers close to Napoleon III.[12] However, by early October, even this prospect had begun to fade and Rost once more began to waver. While still convinced that a decisive military triumph might gain the desired end, Rost and Yancey attributed the Imperial Court's slowness to act to the "very active and powerful [pro-Union] influences at work against us" and "the influence of a national mendacity which the world has never before witnessed . . ."[13] Such news not only further confirmed the failure of the mission, but also strengthened Davis' decision to painlessly dissolve the mission.

The *Trent* affair, from late November through December, 1861, was something of a tonic for Rost. In spite of instructions from home which had transferred him, as "envoy extraordinary" and "Special Commissioner," to Spain,[14] Rost left his post in Madrid and hurried to Paris and London to support Yancey and Mann in arguing the Confederate case. He welcomed the opportunity to leave Spain because of the Iberian climate's effect on his health and, more important, to escape the embarrassment and idleness resulting from the Spanish

[11] Cf. Yancey, Rost, and Mann to Toombs, No. 5, August 7, 1861, and August 14, 1861, *ORN*, Ser. 2, Vol. III, 236-46.

[12] Lord John Russell to Yancey, Rost, and Mann, August 24, 1861, *ibid.*, 248.

[13] Yancey and Rost to Hunter, No. 8, October 5, 1861, *ibid.*, 279. See also Joseph O. Baylen, "Dr. John McClintock: Union Propagandist, 1860-1864," *Civil War History*, V (June, 1959), 133-44.

[14] Hunter to Yancey, Rost, and Mann, No. 9, August 24, 1861, and Hunter to Rost, August 24, 1861, *ORN*, Ser. 2, Vol. III, 107-108, 249.

government's refusal to accord recognition on the basis of the alleged "community of Spanish and Southern [social] systems, and . . . the proximity of the Confederacy to Cuba."[15] Now, in the more congenial and salubrious environment of Paris, Rost tarried—disgusted with the venality of the French press and using the *Trent* crisis to improve his connections with high officials in the Imperial government.[16]

But the end of the *Trent* affair and the arrival of able John Slidell in Paris on January 30, 1862, deprived Rost of any further reason for a continued sojourn in Paris. Yet, he lingered on for another interview with Thouvenel concerning the prospects of breaking the ever-tightening Federal blockade of the Confederacy and to amuse Slidell with his credulity on this subject. Finally, under prodding from Slidell and Richmond, Rost reluctantly made preparations to return to Spain with his son, Alphonse, and Captain John Walker Fearn of Alabama as his legation secretaries.[17]

Arriving in Madrid during the latter half of March after the fall of Forts Henry and Donelson, Rost again approached the foreign minister, Calderón Collantes, for a decision. But in spite of the apparent sympathy of the aristocracy and court circles for the Confederacy, Collantes absolutely refused to take the initiative in recognizing the Confederacy.[18] Nor could the unhappy Rost effectively counter the minister's arguments that the Confederacy had not demonstrated its status as an independent nation or efface Madrid's memory of the South as a greater danger than the North to Spanish Cuba.[19]

[15] Rost to Davis, December 24, 1861, *ibid.*, 311; Edwin J. Pratt and Donaldson Jordan, *Europe and the American Civil War* (Boston, 1931), 247.

[16] To Davis, Rost reported: ". . . on a recent occasion . . . Thouvenel was pleased to say to me that no one could have done or accomplished more than I had." Rost to Davis, December 24, 1861, *ORN*, Ser. 2, Vol. III, 312.

[17] Slidell to Hunter, No. 1, February 11, 1862, and Rost to Hunter, No. 1, March 21, 1862, *ibid.*, 337, 367. See also Callahan, *The Diplomatic History of the Southern Confederacy*, 127-28; Owsley, *King Cotton Diplomacy*, 85, 300.

[18] Pratt and Jordan, *Europe and the American Civil War*, 247-48; Callahan, *The Diplomatic History of the Southern Confederacy*, 128.

[19] Rost to Hunter, No. 1, March 21, 1862, *ORN*, Ser. 2, Vol. III, 367.

Plagued by diabetes and thoroughly discouraged, Rost confessed his failure to an equally disillusioned Yancey.[20] On April 7, he confided to his colleague that there was little hope for the Confederacy in Europe and that "it was to the best interests of the South to make concessions to secure [a negotiated peace and political and economic] alliance with North . . ."[21] A month later, on May 29, Rost tendered his resignation, pleading illness, his uselessness in Madrid, and a desire to return home to salvage an estate ruined by Benjamin Butler's seizure of his New Orleans home and plantation in St. Charles Parish.[22] Yet, it was something more pathetic than defeatism that caused Rost to conclude his service with the advice: "There is little hope that either England or France will change their present policy toward us . . . The conclusion is inevitable that the greater our [military] successes, the less chance [there is] of recognition . . ."[23]

Immediately after his resignation, Rost and his family left Madrid for Paris and, finally, Fumel in his native Lot-et-Garonne. In late 1863, disturbed by rumors that Richmond might be willing to satisfy French designs on Texas in return for recognition and support, he was moved to remonstrate with Davis in a private communication against what he was convinced might be a serious mistake. It was a letter which not only revealed his knowledge of what had occurred in this matter the year before but, within limits, also sheds some light on the abortive intrigues of the French to detach Texas and parts of the Gulf region from the Confederacy.

[20] Callahan, *The Diplomatic History of the Southern Confederacy*, 129; Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 68.

[21] Rost to Yancey, April 7, 1862, as cited in Callahan, *The Diplomatic History of the Southern Confederacy*, 128.

[22] See Rost to Benjamin, September 28, 1862, in James Richardson (comp. and ed.), *A Compilation of Messages and Papers of the Confederacy including the Diplomatic Correspondence, 1861-1865* (2 vols., Nashville, 1906), II, 327-28; Benjamin to Slidell, No. 6, September 26, 1862 and Benjamin to Rost (c/o George Eustis, Paris), September 26, 1862, *ORN*, Ser. 2, Vol. III, 543-44.

[23] Rost to Benjamin, September 28, 1862, Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Confederacy*, II, 328.

Rost had good reason for concern. While Napoleon III was preparing for intervention in Mexico, the French vice-consul in Galveston, B. Théron, queried Governor Lubbock of Texas as to whether "the reestablishment of the republic of Texas would be beneficial" to the interests of Texans. The news which Davis and Benjamin received from Lubbock of Théron's inquiry and their knowledge that the chancellor of the French consulate in Richmond, M. Tabouelle, had similarly approached Senator Oldham of Texas, immediately aroused Benjamin's suspicion. Théron was expelled and Tabouelle narrowly escaped the same fate while Benjamin quickly instructed Slidell to question the *Quai d'Orsay* concerning the Imperial government's attempts "to provoke some movement on the part of . . . Texas . . . [for] . . . withdrawal from the Confederacy . . ." The Secretary of State saw in this "political intrigue" Napoleon's design to create in Texas a weak buffer state between Mexico and the Confederacy and to secure the region as an independent source of cotton through the establishment of some sort of French protectorate. At the same time, Benjamin canvassed the possibility that the French move in Texas had originated with the French minister in Mexico, Dubois de Saligny, rather than in Paris because of Saligny's earlier opposition to the American annexation of the Lone Star Republic. Meanwhile, the Théron affair had also inspired Federal inquiries in Paris which, as in the case of Slidell's queries, elicited bland assurances of French disinterest in the affairs of Texas.[24]

But in spite of the French denials, it is apparent that Théron's (or Saligny's) move was an important segment of a project to establish French influence in the New World and ease the French position in Mexico. Thus, both Benjamin and Rost came close to discerning the real intentions of the French[25]

[24] On the Théron affair and its results, see Benjamin to Slidell, No. 7, October 17, 1862, *ORN*, Ser. 2, Vol. III, 556-59; Callahan, *The Diplomatic History of the Southern Confederacy*, 98, 164, 203-207; Pratt and Jordan, *Europe and the American Civil War*, 213.

[25] Cf. Kathryn Abbey Hanna, "The Roles of the South in French Intervention in Meixco," *Journal of Southern History*, XX (February, 1954), 9-10.

and Rost reflected this when, on Christmas eve, 1863, he communicated to Davis his alarm at the rumor that Richmond was contemplating the barter of Texas for French recognition.

After deploring the "loss of ground" suffered by the Confederacy in France because of England's frustration of Napoleon III's "various propositions" to succor the South, Rost wrote:

> Many well-informed persons remembering the affair of the French consul [Théron] in Texas believe that these statements came originally from Paris,[26] and that the Emperor convinced, as he is known to be, that recognition by him alone meant war with the North, wished to obtain that indemnity for the expenses of the war, as he had obtained Nice and Savoy from Italy for aiding Sardinia inaugurate the unification of Italy [in the Austro-Sardinian War of 1859]. In corroboration of that belief, I can state that a person high in his confidence on this particular subject told me that the surrender of Texas to France would remove all obstacles to our recognition.[27] I mentioned this to Mr. [George] Eustis[28] last summer, Mr. [John] Slidell being then at Biarritz; but of course Mr. Slidell could do nothing in the premises: he had neither authority nor desire to negotiate on any such basis. Meanwhile the Federal Government alarmed at these reports and probably knowing their origin, instructed Mr. [William L.] Dayton[29] to see the Minister

[26] See fn. 24.

[27] This may have had some connection with the memorial presented to the Governor of Texas in late summer, 1863, by Major John Tyler of General Sterling Price's staff in which the son of ex-President Tyler demanded that Texas place itself under the *protection* of France. Professor Ramsdell, who believed that the memorial originated at the headquarters of General Price, has speculated on the role of France in this affair and its relation to Théron's overtures. Charles W. Ramsdell, "The Last Hope of the Confederacy—John Tyler to the Governor and Authorities of Texas," *The Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association*, XIV (1910), 129-32.

[28] George Eustis (1828-1872), a Louisianan, was appointed to serve as Slidell's legation secretary. Cf. Monaghan, *Diplomat in Carpet Slippers*, 168-69.

[29] William L. Dayton (1807-1864), minister to France from 1861 until his death in 1864. Cf. Beckles Willson, *America's Ambassadors to France (1777-1927)*, (London, 1928), 262-63.

> of Foreign Affairs in relation to them.[30] You have no doubt seen in the [French] Yellow Book the answer of the Minister. We had not taken the hint given to us and he said, as in the case of the Texas consul, that there was no truth in them; France did not seek to acquire territory in America for herself or for others. You have probably noticed the tacit understanding to be inferred from mutual disclaimer, that, providing the Federal Government does not meddle with Mexican affairs, France will not at present interfere between the North and the South.[31] On the first solemn occasion, the Emperor has complied with this agreement . . .
>
> So matters stand: . . . The surrender of Texas for reannexation to Mexico, I do not consider possible under any circumstances. [And I am]Trusting that under your guidance, we may, without any such dismemberment or foreign aid achieve success . . .[32]

This was Rost's last service to the Confederacy. He remained in Fumel until the end of the conflict permitted his return to New Orleans where he died on September 6, 1868, an almost forgotten figure. The memory, however, of what he tried to accomplish for the Lost Cause has survived in the scattered dispatches and unpublished letters which tell the story of a vain hope and the failure of a mission.

[30] Dayton to Seward, No. 269, February 13, 1863, and Seward to Dayton, No. 308, March 2, 1863, *Papers relating to Foreign Affairs, 1863* . . . (Washington, 1864), Part I, 639-40, 642, 647.

[31] Rost's statement was apparently based on reports in French newspapers. Sections of the French press interpreted Seward's assertion in late October, 1863 (that the United States had "no intention of overthrowing a monarchy [in Mexico] in the name of their republican principle") as evidence of a Federal bargain with Napoleon III. Owsley, however, has averred that it was the Emperor rather than Seward who took the initiative in trading non-recognition of the Confederacy for Federal non-interference in Mexico. See West, *Contemporary French Opinion on the American Civil War*, 125-26; Owsley, *King Cotton Diplomacy*, 547-48.

[32] P. A. Rost to Jefferson Davis, Fumel, December 24, 1863, Manuscripts Division, Emory University Library.

The Republican Party in the Louisiana Election of 1896

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REPUBLICAN RULE IN Louisiana collapsed in April, 1877 with the withdrawal of Federal troops. The party was demoralized, stunned, and rent by factions. Some of its membership despaired of its rising from the depths to which it had sunk.[1] The Republican party nevertheless was the chief opposition to the Democrats in all Louisiana political contests in the period 1879 to 1892. The party candidates polled 33 per cent of the votes cast for governor during the period. The number of Republican legislators and parishes, however, declined steadily. The state election of 1892 was a disaster for the party which was split on the lottery issue. No Republicans were elected to the state Senate and only three to the House of Representatives.[2] Yet in the state election of 1896, the Democrats were faced with the most formidable Republican threat since 1876.

In the 1896 election, the Republican party acquired some new adherents in the person of influential sugar planters and business men, all of whom had been Democrats. Since 1877, the party had tried to attract men of this type because they believed in the Republican principles of protective tariffs and internal improvements. Yet, because of social pressures they would not join the "Negro" party.

[1] Philip D. Uzee, "Republican Politics in Louisiana 1877-1900", Ph.D. Dissertation, Louisiana State University, 1950, 3.
[2] *Ibid.*, 92.

The Tariff of 1894 imposed a duty on raw sugar of 40 per cent *ad valorem* instead of a specific duty and did not restore the bounty provisions of the McKinley Tariff of 1890.[3] This law caused the Louisiana sugar planters to conclude that the Democratic party was the tool of the sugar trust and was indifferent to the plight of the sugar growers. They had sent delegations to Washington to try to prevent the passage of the act but to no avail.[4] They believed that the cancelling of the bounty was equivalent to breaking a moral contract. The McKinley tariff had provided that the bounty was to be granted for fifteen years, and on the strength of this the sugar planters had borrowed money to buy expensive machinery and equipment. Now the bounty was gone, the country was in a depression, and they were left with their debts, facing ruin.[5] Henry McCall, Richard McCall and E. N. Pugh of Ascension Parish decided that the salvation of the planter lay in a Republican administration. This meant that Louisiana should send Republicans to Congress, at least from the sugar districts. To bring this about they determined to leave the Democratic party and affiliate with the party of protection. The McCalls and Pugh announced their decision at a meeting of the Ascension Parish Democracy and advised their fellow planters to do likewise. An eyewitness reported that everyone was struck speechless at the announcement,[6] for these men had been the most ardent Democrats and opponents of Republicanism in the parish. It was the action of a Democratic Congress which made them abandon their former political allegiance.

On September 6, 1894, 300 planters held a convention in

[3] F. W. Taussig, *The Tariff History of the United States* (New York, 1914), 309.

[4] Henry C. Warmoth to William E. Chandler, May 18, 1894, William E. Chandler Papers (Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress). (Hereinafter cited as Chandler Papers.) Thibodaux *Sentinel*, January 13, 1894.

[5] New York *Tribune*, September 9, 1894.

[6] R. Prosper Landry to William P. Miles, September 5, 1894, William Porcher Miles Collection (Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill).

New Orleans to discuss whether they should follow the example of the Ascension men. Pugh was made chairman of the meeting. W. E. Howell, H. P. Kernochan, Albert Estopinal and J. N. Pharr advised the planters to make the break and join the party which would restore the sugar tariff. The sugar districts should support congressional candidates who would be acceptable to the Republicans in Washington and who would be admitted to the party caucus.[7]

Those planters who decided to leave the Democratic party met in New Orleans on September 17, 1894, and organized the National Republican Party of Louisiana. W. E. Howell was elected chairman of the executive committee.[8] The "national" in the name adopted indicated that they were Republicans on national issues but had not changed their views or prejudices on southern and local questions, such as opposition to Negro voting and participation in government. No move was made to affiliate with the Regular Republicans. Instead the Nationals established separate ward clubs and asked for representation on the state boards of registration and elections.[9] Seceders from the Democratic Party who held appointive state offices resigned them.[10] Now besides the usual factions in the Republican party, centering around ex-governors William P. Kellogg and Henry C. Warmoth, there was a third one.

The Regulars allowed the Nationals to nominate the Republican candidates in the congressional elections of 1894. They chose H. P. Kernochan, first district; H. Dudley Coleman, second district; and Taylor Beattie, third district.[11] The other three districts were left to the Populists and the Democratics.

The Nationals invited William McKinley, the high priest of protection, to make an address in New Orleans. The Re-

[7] New York *Tribune*, September 7, 1894.
[8] *Ibid.*, September 18, 1894.
[9] *Ibid.*
[10] New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, October 16, 1894.
[11] Warmoth to Chandler, October 10, 1894, Chandler Papers.

publicans of all factions used the occasion of his visit on October 20 to put on a big demonstration, including bonfires and fireworks, to show that Louisiana was a protectionist state. Eight thousand people heard the distinguished visitor's speech on the benefits of protection.[12]

The Democratic press ridiculed the idea that the Nationals could be Republicans on national issues and Democrats on local issues. It was stated that no lilywhite party could bear the name Republican.[13] The planters who had been able to control the votes of their Negro laborers when they were Democrats determined to continue doing so in spite of the color line propaganda of their opponents. One St. Mary planter declared: "I shall vote every negro on our plantation even if is necessary to kill white men to do so."[14]

No Republican congressmen were elected in 1894. The Democratic Ring was too powerful in the New Orleans wards of the first and second districts, and Andrew Price spent thousands of dollars to defeat Beattie in the third.[15]

The Nationals did not let this rebuff discourage them. Immediately they began preparations for the state campaign of 1896 by organizing clubs. Theirs was to be a crusade for fair elections and an honest count. They still claimed to have no connections with the Regulars.[16]

In December, 1895, the state central committee of the Regulars met to prepare for the coming campaign, with the Warmoth forces fighting the Kellogg crowd for supremacy. Warmoth wanted to make overtures to the Nationals with a view to making common cause with them on the fair elections and honest count issue. The Kellogg forces would have

12 New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, October 21, 1894.
13 *Ibid.*, November 2, 3, 4, 1894.
14 *Ibid.*, October 17, 1894.
15 Warmoth to Chandler, November 9, 1894, Chandler Papers.
16 Thibodaux *Sentinel*, November 23, 30, 1895.

nothing to do with lilywhite Republicans.[17] The showdown between the factions was postponed until the meeting of the state convention in January, 1896.

The Nationals held their lilywhite nominating convention on January 2, and named E. N. Pugh as their candidate for Governor, J. B. Donnally for Secretary of State and L. F. Suthon for Attorney-General.[18] They did not name any other candidates because they hoped to reach an agreement with the Populists and put out a fusion ticket. Such a possibility had been discussed in August, 1895.[19]

The Populists held their convention in Alexandria on January 8 and refused to join the Nationals with Pugh heading the ticket. Pugh was a white supremacist, as were the Populists, but he was opposed to free silver. A separate Populists ticket headed by A. B. Booth was named.[20]

Political negotiations followed throughout the month of January, and finally a ticket was drawn up on which both Nationals and Populists could agree.[21] A Fusion ticket of three Nationals and four Populists was drawn up as follows:

Governor	J. N. Pharr	National Republican
Lt. Governor	J. B. Kleinpeter	Populists
Sec. of State	J. W. McFarland	Populists
Auditor	H. P. Kernochan	National Republican
Treasurer	John Pickett	Populists
Atty. General	L. F. Suthon	National Republican
Supt. of Educ.	G. A. M. Cook	Populists

The Regular Republican convention met on January 29. It

[17] *Ibid.*, December 28, 1895.

[18] *Ibid.*, January 11, 1896; New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, January 5, 1896.

[19] Lucia E. Daniel, "The Louisiana People's Party," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XXVI (October, 1943), 1099.

[20] *Ibid.*, 1101; New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, January 9, 10, 1896.

[21] Daniel, "The Louisiana People's Party," *loc. cit.*, 1102.

was the replica of every Republican convention of the past twenty years—the same old faces, the same old quarrels.[22] Kellogg wanted to put out a separate ticket, Warmoth wanted to endorse the Fusion ticket and back the lilywhites. Warmoth's position was approved by some of the important national leaders. In reporting what transpired in the convention to William E. Chandler, Warmoth wrote: "The work we began last August when you and Senator Platt and others consented to an interview with Messrs. McCall and others has born [sic] good fruit."[23]

After a hard fight the Regular convention did endorse the Fusion ticket.[24] Warmoth reported that Kellogg had come to Louisiana with a lot of money and had conspired with A. H. Lenoard, Thomas A. Cage and the Democrats to buy up the convention to prevent the fusion.[25] Warmoth promised Chandler to bring evidence of Kellogg's nefarious deeds before the St. Louis convention in order to rid Louisiana of "this predatory scoundrel, who never comes to the state except to demoralize and debauch the political organization which those of us who live here have tried so hard to maintain."[26]

The Thibodaux *Sentinel* wondered who would rule in this tripartite fusion of such diverse elements whose only unifying force was the desire to beat the Democrats. According to the *Sentinel* the Populists favored a "paternalism of the most pronounced type," communism and free silver; the Nationals were white supremacists who had no use for the "niggers" except to vote them; the Regulars wanted to repeal the separate car and antimiscegenation laws; and Pharr was a prohibitionist.[27]

When Pharr accepted the nomination he had to address his

22 Thibodaux *Sentinel*, February 8, 1896; New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, January 30, 1896.

23 Warmoth to Chandler, February 4, 1896, Chandler Papers.

24 New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, January 31, 1896.

25 Warmoth to Chandler, February 4, 1896, Chandler Papers.

26 *Ibid.*

27 Thibodaux *Sentinel*, February 8, 1896.

letter of acceptance to three party chairmen. He had to couch it in general terms in order not to offend. His position was explained by the New Orleans *Times-Democrat*:

> If Capt. Pharr could tell the Populists that he favored the Ocala Demands, that he believed the railroads should be owned by the State and all taxes placed on the richest classes he could sweep the Populist parishes north of Red River . . . . Any remarks about saddling taxation on the wealthy would antagonize the Nationals, while the Republicans would be indignant over attacks on the corporations and monoplies which they created and fostered. If he could tell . . . the Nationals, that he believed in the restoration of the sugar bounty, and that he did not think the Negroes ought to be allowed to hold any offices or positions of trust in the state, and that the control of the Republican party should be handed over to the planters, it would swell his vote in the sugar district but ruin him in North Louisiana and the Negro parishes. It is the same with the regular Republicans. He does not tell them that he believes that the separate car anti-miscegenation laws ought to be repealed and that the Negroes should have a large share of the offices. What would please the regulars would lose him every white vote in the state.[28]

Pharr did have a platform with two planks on which his three-headed support could agree. One plank called for a fair election and an honest count, and the other called for the defeat of the suffrage amendment to the constitution.[29] The legislature had added to the usual age and residence qualifications, literacy and property requirements for voting in an effort to reduce the Negro vote. The Fusionists were against it because it would not only disfranchise Negroes but many whites as well.[30]

[28] New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, February 7, 1896.

[29] Thibodaux *Sentinel*, February 29, 1896.

[30] Daniel, "The Louisiana People's Party," *loc. cit.*, 1105; W. W. Duson to J. N. Pharr, October 27, 1896, J. N. Pharr and Family Papers (Louisiana State University Archives, Baton Rouge); New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, October 8, 16, 1896.

Throughout the state campaign, the Regulars and the Nationals maintained separate identities. Each had its campaign committees, and its corps of speakers to stump the state for Pharr. The Nationals campaign committee had no Negro members.[31]

In January, anti-Ring Democrats in New Orleans organized the Citizen's League. It nominated candidates for the city offices and legislative seats. The Nationals supported the League candidates while the Regulars were allied with the Ring.[32]

The Democratic press ridiculed the Fusionists, but the practical politicians of the Democratic party realized that they were faced with the most formidable threat to their control of the state since 1876. Two wings of the Fusion represented former Democratic votes now lost to the party. To ensure the election of Murphy J. Foster and his ticket, they had to make sure every election commissioner and poll official in the parishes with Negro majorities was a trusted Democrat because the Negro vote would have to replace the lost white votes.[33] The party was also prepared to buy votes. The Ring opened up a special office in New Orleans to purchase Negro votes at $12.50 per vote.[34]

The decision of one Democratic faction to vote the Negroes caused an explosive situation in St. Landry Parish. This faction insisted that the colored men be allowed to register, and the opposing faction prepared to resist such a move by force of arms. Opelousas became an armed camp of the pro-Negro faction and a haven for the rural Negroes. Governor Foster sent state troops to the parish to maintain peace.[35]

The Democrat's leadership abandoned their support of the suffrage amendment because it was unpopular with the

[31] New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, March 12, 19, 24, 1896.
[32] *Ibid.*, April 2, 16, 1896.
[33] New York *Tribune*, March 15, 1896.
[34] New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, April 17, 1896.
[35] *Ibid.*, April 5, 6, 1896.

voters,[36] but not all Democrats approved. The proponents of the amendment hoped its passage would eliminate the "revolutionary" methods used in the past to win elections. The *Tensas Gazette* asked: "Are men to pass their lives in a state of semi-warfare?"[37] There could be no permanent peace or prosperity in a community where the violation of the law was the foundation of the political structure. The fear of Negro domination had massed the whites in a compact body which had "grudgingly but surely lodged all political power in the executive which executive has used to emasculate independent action and suppress political thought." Election frauds were looked upon as a jesting matter.[38]

The Fusionists were opposed to the suffrage amendment but that did not mean they were all pro-Negro. The Populists opposed it because it would disfranchise many of their followers. The Nationals' attitude was expressed by Pharr in his campaign speeches delivered at segregated political meetings. The Negroes were a clinging vine on the oak of the white race, he said, and should look to the white man for guidance in all matters. Pharr's advice was:

> Don't make any fight with a white man, but go to law for your rights . . . Acquire property and be respected, and the white men will see that you are not imposed on and run out of the country. What you want is to earn money and educate your children, and not take part in politics.

If the white men in a district allowed the Negroes to vote, they should go to the polls but if the prevailing sentiment was against it, they should stay home.[39]

Election day passed without serious disturbance in the state. Some 500 Negroes voted in Opelousas without incident. Two

[36] *Ibid.*, April 17, 21, 1896.
[37] *Ibid.*, April 1, 1896, quoting *Tensas Gazette.*
[38] *Ibid.*
[39] *Ibid.*, April 7, 11, 1896; Thibodaux *Sentinel,* March 14, 1896.

men were killed in Tangipahoa.[40] Serious trouble arose in two sections of the state over the counting of the vote.

St. John the Baptist Parish was the only parish which had not completely suppressed its Negro and Republican elements in local affairs. The Democrats determined to accomplish this in the election of 1896. Faced with this determination, Henry Demas, the Negro boss of the parish, tried to prevent a complete count of the vote by seizing the ballot box of the second ward. He gathered his fellow blacks at his house, armed them, and prepared to withstand any attacks by the whites. The whites laid siege to the Negroes and called on the Governor to send state troops. The Louisiana field artillery dispersed the Negroes; Demas fled the parish and St. John was "redeemed."[41]

The Populists of Natchitoches parish assisted by party members from Winn and Grant parishes were in arms against the Democratic commissioners who refused to count all the Populists votes cast. Prior to the election, the whites in the parish had agreed that Negroes would not be allowed to vote. The Democrats claimed that the Populists had broken the agreement and voted Negroes in the Grapp's Bluff precinct of ward three. It was these votes the commissioners wanted to reject. State troops were sent to Natchitoches to maintain order. The parish went Fusionist.[42]

The election revealed that when the whites were divided the Negro vote became a valuable commodity even for Democrats. The *Picayune* remarked on this phenomenon:

> Now that the Negroes of Louisiana have come to realize that the days of Democratic bulldozing have entirely passed away, and that the Democrats have become the Negro's best customers, it is easy to see that the Negroes are not only

[40] New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, April 22, 1896.
[41] *Ibid.*, April 23, 24, 25, 1896.
[42] *Ibid.*, April 28, 1896.

> becoming a great political power but are disorganizing the Democratic party. The game now is to secure a nomination on the Democratic ticket for the important local offices, then abandon the balance of the ticket and the principles of the party on the condition of securing the black vote.[43]

After the returns were in, it was seen that the Citizen's League won a clear victory in New Orleans. The Fusionists carried 26 parishes. Four Republicans were elected to the state senate and nine to the house. Foster claimed 116,216 votes to Pharr's 90,138. A study of the returns revealed that Pharr had carried the white parishes north of Red River, and that Foster's majorities were in the parishes with Negro majorities which had heretofore been in the Republican column.[44] The conclusion was obvious to the Fusionists. The Democrats had stuffed the ballot boxes and stolen the Negro votes. They planned to contest the election and get the state legislature to go behind the returns. The Fusionists expected the Citizen's League legislators, who held the balance of power in the legislature, to act with them in this move since the League was a body dedicated to reform and pure elections. Henry McCall declared that: "Once upon a time there was some justification in this method of counting out a common enemy, but now . . . more than one half, two thirds of the white votes of the state have been cast for Pharr."[45] A fair count would show that Pharr had a clear majority of 8000 white votes over Foster.[46]

The League leaders sought to compromise the issue before the meeting of the legislature. They proposed that Foster's election not be challenged, and in return the administration would agree to call a constitutional convention to revise the suffrage qualifications to eliminate the Negro vote. The legislature would enact a new election law providing for the

[43] *Ibid.*, April 24, 1896.
[44] Daniel, "The Louisiana People's Party," *loc. cit.*, 1111.
[45] New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, May 1, 1896.
[46] *Ibid.*

Australian ballot, and another state election would be held in two years.[47]

The Fusionists agreed to accept the propositions but reserved the right to make a formal protest to the legislature on the frauds perpetrated in the election. Pharr later admitted that he had accepted the terms because of the promise to eliminate the Negro vote.[48] The Fosterites delayed accepting the terms until the night before the legislature was to proclaim the results of the election.

Meanwhile, the capital was in a state of great excitement. All the legislators were armed. A gun was accidently discharged in the corridor of the State House, and immediately the whole place was bristling with drawn guns and knives.[49] The atmosphere cleared when it was announced that Foster had accepted the League compromise with the exception of the part calling for another election in two years.

When the legislature met on May 14, the Fusionists presented a long report on the frauds of the election of 1896. They pointed out that in many parishes the number of votes returned exceed the number of registered voters, and charged that 35,000 votes claimed by the Democrats were fraudulent. The elections committee presented a majority and minority report. The former declared that the legislature had no power to go behind the returns and that on the face of the returns Foster was elected. The minority report recommended going behind the returns. The legislature voted on the minority report, rejecting it by a vote of 86 to 43. Seventeen Citizen's League men voted with the Democrats and eight with the Fusionists.[50] Thus ended the election of 1896 with the Democrats in complete control of the state.

In summarizing one of the most significant elections in

[47] *Ibid.*, May 2, 1896.
[48] *Ibid.*, May 21, 1896.
[49] *Ibid.*, May 14, 1896.
[50] *Ibid.*, May 15, 1896.

Louisiana political history, it should be emphasized that it was in 1896 that the Republican party, with sugar planter and Populist allies, fought its last important battle with the Democrats for state offices; in all subsequent elections to the present the party offered either no opposition or only token opposition. It was in 1896 that the last Negroes and Republicans were elected to the state legislature; Negro representatives being elected from East Baton Rouge, St. Charles, and St. Tammany parishes. It was in 1896 that the issue of the buying and controlling of Negro votes came to a head and many leaders came to believe that only by eliminating the Negro vote could fair and uncorrupt elections be held in Louisiana. The movement to disfranchise the Negroes culminated in the adoption of the suffrage clauses of the Constitution of 1898. It was in 1896 that the New Orleans Ring was overthrown by the Citizen's League supported by Republicans and Populists.

Lucinda Sparkle

By JANE LUCAS DEGRUMMOND

who teaches history
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LUCINDA SPARKLE WAS a strong-minded white woman who made a protest against the accepted mores of her time—against the New Orleans of 1810 where a virtuous woman could not parade her charms on the only decent promenade that the city boasted.

The Mississippi is higher than the city. That is why the first settlers built an embankment of earth to keep the river in its course during the flood season. This levee made an excellent walk twenty feet wide which was high and dry at all times and fanned by delightful breezes.

Down in the city there was very little circulation of air since the levee curtained it across the front and cypress swamps across the back. A stench habitually pervaded the streets which could be paraded in dry weather, although even then crawfish holes were numerous along the ditches.

After several days of rain the streets were abysses where vehicles were dashed to pieces. Pedestrians escaped to the sidewalks or banquettes but were not safe even there. The sidewalks were dangerous. Large timbers linked the unpaved parts with those paved with brick—the brick banquettes—and one had to be expert in the art of equilibrium to walk the muddy timbers without slipping. They were inclined in different positions according to the way the earth had settled.

Who walked on the levee with its firm footing and fresh breezes? Not the white ladies. When they were allowed out of seclusion they had to walk the "stinkin' ol' streets" while quadroons held sway on the levee. At sunset it was the principal market for *traffic de coeur.*

Thomas Ashe, a foreign visitor in 1806, described the ladies of color saying: "Their movements are indescribably graceful, far superior to anything I ever witnessed in Europe. . . . There women are rigid and the muscles are unrelaxed; whereas, here the action is unrestrained, the muscles elastic, and the frame as supple as if destitute of bone. . .

"Men approach the object of their affection and murmur *qu'elle est belle comme une ange.* . . . The mothers always make the bargain. Fifty dollars a month is the usual fee. For this the lover has exclusive right to her house. He can get coffee and refreshments there at any time or he may live there with the utmost safety and tranquility."[1]

If Lucinda Sparkle read Ashe's book, she must have clenched her fists to think that she could not even mention the word "petticoat" while Ashe could write of the girls on the levee that "their petticoats are ornamented at the bottom with gold lace . . . their slippers are composed of gold embroidery, and their stockings interwoven with the same metal, in so fanciful a manner as to display the shape of the leg to the best advantage."[2]

What chance did Lucinda Sparkle have in the putrid mud below? If only the city council would build a promenade for nice girls, they might have an even break against this levee competition. Moreover, many strangers might be retained in New Orleans much to their own satisfaction.

[1] Thomas Ashe, *Travels in America Performed in the Year 1806* (London, 1809), 312-15.

[2] *Ibid.*

What strangers? Those rugged backwoodsmen from upriver who ingeniously advertised their wares by hanging samples on the tops of slim poles on their flatboats. A passerby behind the levee (maybe a nice girl), not seeing the flatboats, might blink her eyes as she beheld a ham or a jug of whiskey or an ear of corn apparently suspended in the air.

The gals on the levee snared this virile bait.

So Lucinda Sparkle, or perhaps a group of Lucinda Sparkles, sat down and penned the following letter which appeared in the *Louisiana Gazette* on September 18, 1810.

"To the Honorable Mayor and City Council

"The undersigned respectfully represents, that she with the generality of her sex, supported by the most learned writers, do consider it of the first importance and interest of any kingdom, state, territory or city, to encourage matrimony.

"It is with extreme sorrow and regret that your petitioner has witnessed the depravity which exists among the unmarried gentlemen of this city—greater part of the evil arises from their not associating with the best female society. The charms of female modesty and virtue have, unfortunately, too little force when brought into contact with the grossest passions, and the fascinating alurements of Gold.

"It is observable that during the *Carnival*, when our young gentlemen from custom and the pleasures of dancing, are frequently in company with our *belles*, that feelings of the most pure and tender nature are often excited; but as the mercenary sordid mind requires time to calculate the profit and loss of any engagement or contract, time passes, the *Carnival* ends, and the period of female seclusion again returns, and then there remains nothing to counteract the baneful vices complained of by your petitioner.

"The undersigned respectfully proposes to the Hon. Mayor,

&c., &c., that public walks be established, with fine avenues of trees, decorated with all the allurements of art, and let every inducement be held out to our most beautiful and accomplished females, to frequent them. We can boast (without fear of being contradicted) of as fine shapes, grace in our movements, brightness of eyes, &c., &c., as any other city. Here in this public walk the favorable and honorable impressions made during the *Carnival* might be renewed; new conquests might be made; and many strangers who now leave us in disgust, might be retained much to their own satisfaction, and greatly to the satisfaction of the ladies, and it would also promote the cause of MATRIMONY, and suppress the vices complained of by your petitioner.

"Your petitioner, after suggesting to the Hon. Mayor and City Council, the outlines of the plan, leaves to their wisdom its adoption and extension, and as in duty bound, will pray for a good husband."

LUCINDA SPARKLE.

Vignettes

The U.S. vs. Louisiana: The Continuing War

The following order dated April 25, 1863, was issued by Major General Nathaniel P. Banks, Union commander in Louisiana with headquarters at Opelousas. It was printed in the Memphis *Bulletin* of May 14, 1863, and seemed to place the people of Louisiana in the uncomfortable position of violating a Northern order or a Southern (Louisiana) decree:

"The fortunes of war have placed in the hands of the Commanding General a military order, dated at the headquarters of the forces south of the Red river, New Iberia, January 27, 1863, in which, in conformity to the act of the rebel legislature of Louisiana, authorizing the Government of the State to press into its service slaves and other property for the defense of the State, and in pursuance of the powers delegated by the insurgent Government to the officer commanding the District of Western Louisiana, the sheriffs of the several parishes are directed to forward, with the shortest possible delay, to the headquarters named, a statement and description of all able-bodied male slaves, between the ages of 18 and 50 years, in the several parishes designated, the names of their owners, and the localities where they reside.

"It is apparent that the purpose of this order is to effect a general conscription of slaves as a part of the rebel military power against the Government of the United States.

"Notice is hereby given by the Commanding General of the Department of the Gulf, representing the Government of the United States, that sheriffs or other persons who comply with this order will be held and treated as enemies of the Government of the United States, and subjected to all the consequences of armed resistance to its authority.

"Negroes who desire to escape the intended conscription in the

rebel army—whether slave or free—will follow the flag of the government, now and forever the flag of Union and Liberty.

"By command of Maj. Gen. Banks."

McNeese State College — Jack D. L. Holmes

Roadbuilding in Territorial Louisiana

"In Louisiana at this time, 1803-1804, there was also interest in road building, as was shown in the laws of the territory. One section stated that

> the keeping in repair of bridges, roads, and mounds being indispensable for the facility of transportation, for the convenience of the inhabitants and travellers, and for the preservation of the fruits of the earth, the syndics shall direct their whole attention to that object with an impartiality and firmness proof against all reproach and worldly considerations.

Steps were being taken to connect isolated sections of Louisiana. A post road was opened between Loftus Heights and New Orleans; an office was established in Baton Rouge to handle the mail; and there was being discussed the possibility of opening a road through Florida that would link with New Orleans. Governor Claiborne was eager to connect the Louisiana roads with the road to the East. In a letter to the Postmaster General the Governor outlined the best approach to his city, which was by way of Bayou Catherine. He added that if this way was not desirable, a road could be opened up without great difficulty. It would be necessary to throw up small levees in some places, as the high winds from the southeast occasionally forced the water of the Gulf of Mexico over the banks at particular places. In southern Mississippi and Louisiana the waterways were continuously a problem; the best way to solve the problem would be to use them rather than attempt to build a road that would necessarily have to cross them."

Randle Bond Truett, *Trade and Travel Around the Southern Appalachians Before 1830* (Chapel Hill, 1935), 59-60.

Louisiana State University — The Editors

Washington-New Orleans Post Road

"In the laying out of post roads between Washington and New Orleans, the relationship between the United States government and the Indians was complicated and important, and treaties had to be promulgated, securing permission from the Indians to run roads through their lands and, as far as possible, arranging for the safe transportation of the mail. For example, it had been decided that the mail be transported from Knoxville to New Orleans through Indian country. The agents of the United States and those of the Cherokees met at Tellico and drew up a treaty which was signed October 27, 1805. It stipulated that

> Whereas the mail of the United States is ordered to be carried from Knoxville to New Orleans through Cherokee, Creek, and Choctaw countries; the Cherokees agree that the citizens of the United States shall have, so far as it goes through their country, the free and unmolested use of a road leading from Tellico to Tombigbe, to be laid out by viewers appointed by both sides, who shall direct it the nearest and best way. . . .

"In the following year further arrangements were made to continue the road, this time with the Creek Indians. The opening of the road had to be sanctioned by each group through whose territory it passed in order that the mail might be carried safely. On November 14, 1805, the negotiators met in Washington and signed the treaty which stated that it had been 'agreed, on the part of the Creek nation that the Government of the United States shall forever hereafter have a right to a horse path, through the Creek country, from the Ocmulgee to the Mobile, in such direction as shall . . . be considered most convenient, and to clear out the same, and lay logs over the creeks.' "

Randle Bond Truett, *Trade and Travel Around the Southern Appalachians Before 1830* (Chapel Hill, 1935), 61-62.

Report on Third Annual Meeting

The third annual meeting of the Louisiana Historical Association was held in Shreveport, Louisiana, on April 27, 28, and 29, 1961. Headquarters for the meeting were the Captain Shreve and Washington Youree hotels.

There were three academic sessions which dealt with aspects of the history of Louisiana. The first session which met on the morning of April 28 was presided over by Professor Garnie W. McGinty of Louisiana Polytechnic Institute. Three papers dealing with economic history were read. Jack D. L. Holmes of McNeese State College presented a long paper entitled "Economic Problems of Spanish Governors in Louisiana." He was followed by Merl E. Reed of Del Mar College, Corpus Christi, Texas, who presented "Louisiana's Economy During the 1830's: Survey and Analysis." The final paper, "The Rise of a Labor Movement in Ante-Bellum New Orleans," was read by Leon C. Soule of New Orleans, Louisiana.

During the afternoon of April 28, Charles L. Dufour chaired a session on Louisiana politics. Two papers were presented at this session; one by William H. Adams of the University of Southwestern Louisiana entitled "Louisiana and the Presidential Election of 1848," and one by Matthew J. Schott of Tulane University entitled "John M. Parker and the Growth of the One-Party System in Louisiana."

On the afternoon of April 28, the annual dinner of the Association was held in the Captain Shreve-West Lake Room. Joseph G. Tregle, Jr., of Louisiana State University in New Orleans presided and introduced John S. Kyser, President of the Association, whose illustrated address was entitled "Louisiana Backgrounds in France and Spain."

On the morning of Saturday, April 29, a final reading ses-

sion was held in the Washington Youree-Louisiana Room. The chairman of this session was Amos E. Simpson of the University of Southwestern Louisiana. Joyce Purser and Marietta LeBreton, both graduate students at Louisiana State University, presented papers on the Indians of Louisiana. Miss Purser's paper, "United States-Indian Relations in Louisiana, 1803-1823," was concerned with some of the general Indian problems confronting officials in the state. Miss LeBreton's paper dealt with "The Indian Factory System in Louisiana, 1805-1825."

On Thursday, April 27, at 8:00 p.m., the Board of Directors of the Louisiana Historical Association met to begin the disposition of the business of the Association. After handling several routine matters, there was a lengthy discussion of the functions and powers of the Publication Committee concerning the selection of manuscripts for publication. It was finally decided "to vest final decision on the choice of book manuscripts, reprints, and translations, to be published by the Association in the Publications Committee, subject to the authorization of funds by the Executive Committee."

It was also decided that the Managing Editor of *Louisiana History* be authorized to negotiate an agreement with a press for the distribution of the Louisiana Historical Association publications. Any such negotiation was to be subject to approval of the Executive Committee of the Association.

A discussion was held concerning the operation of the office of executive secretary. The Board expressed its satisfaction with the present operation of that office. The Board agreed to increase the amount allowed for secretarial assistance and authorized the purchase of a mimeograph machine to facilitate the work of the executive secretary.

At the suggestion of Mr. Andreassen, he was replaced as liaison representative of the Louisiana Historical Association

commends the State Parks and Recreation Department for the handsome and informative displays at the excellent Battlefield Museum at Mansfield and for other efforts of historical interpretation of Louisiana.

Further: That the Louisiana Historical Association commends the State Civil War Centennial Commission for its past efforts and future plans, including those of publications, for commemorating the 100th Anniversary of Louisiana's participation in the Confederacy.

Further: That the Louisiana Historical Association commends the National Trust for Historic Preservation, for its restoration program now underway at The Shadows, New Iberia.

Further: That the Louisiana Historical Association commends Editor Edwin A. Davis and Associate Editor Otis Hebert of *Louisiana History* on the successful completion of Volume I of the journal and for the sound scholarship reflected therein.

Further: That the Louisiana Historical Association supports the issuance of a special commemorative postage stamp during the year 1961 to honor, in general, the historical profession, and in particular the 100th anniversary of the birth of the distinguished historian, scholar, and teacher, Frederick Jackson Turner, and that the President of this Association communicates this resolution to the Postmaster General in Washington.

Further: That the Louisiana Historical Association expresses appreciation to the Chairman of the Program Committee, Raleigh Suarez, for the excellence of the annual meeting program; to Mrs. D. H. Perkins and her local Committee for the well-planned arrangements for this meeting; to the Management of the Washington-Youree and Captain Shreve Hotels for the fine facilities made available to the Association; and to the officials of Holiday in Dixie for their kind invitation to meet in Shreveport during their colorful festivities.

> And Finally be it Resolved: That the Louisiana Historical Association express its appreciation to retiring President John S. Kyser for giving of his time and talents upon which so many other demands are made, and providing enthusiastic leadership during an important period of growth of this organization.

At this point the retiring president, John S. Kyser, turned the meeting over to the incoming president, Joseph Tregle, who assumed his duties as President of the Louisiana Historical Association.

After the business meeting, a brief meeting of the Board of Directors of the Association was held. At this meeting the Publications Committee was directed to report its recommendations to President Tregle as soon as possible. Also a vacancy on the Board of Directors caused by the election of Garnie W. McGinty to the office of Vice-President was filled by the selection of J. R. Brown of Northeast State College.

The Louisiana Colonials of New Iberia on March 25 dedicated a marker at Rip Van Winkle Gardens, Jefferson Island, in memory of Joseph Jefferson, actor who won fame portraying Rip Van Winkle. The actor Jefferson moved to Louisiana after he retired from the stage.

Southwest Louisiana Historical Society recently elected officers for 1961. The new officers are: Donald J. Millet, President; G. W. Ford, Vice-President; Mrs. Garf MacDonald, Secretary-Treasurer..

MISCELLANEOUS

The second dinner-seminar for New Orleans-area historians was addressed by Donald C. Watt, lecturer in international history at the London School of Economics and Political Science, on April 11. His topic was "The Policy-Making Elite in Great Britain and the United States since 1896." The dinner group, which consists of historians and their wives of the New Orleans area, was inaugurated on February 23. Three meetings each year are planned.

Louisiana Polytechnic Institute professors were featured at recent professional meetings. G. W. McGinty read a paper before the social science section of the Louisiana College Conference in March. Phillip A. Walker read a paper on the Schleswigg question at the history of the Southwestern Social Science Association in March. At the Louisiana Academy of Sciences meeting in Lafayette in April, L. E. Story read a paper entitled "Some proposed Changes in the Electoral College with Applications to Louisiana", and Ellis Sandoz read a paper on "Dostoevsky's Grand Inquisitor: The Problem of Good and Evil."

Plaquemines Parish police jury is undertaking a project of restoring historic Fort Jackson on the west bank of the Mississippi River. It is hoped that this project will result in tourist attraction and picnic area.

Three Louisiana Polytechnic Institute professors were featured recently on television programs. G. W. McGinty discussed the Battle of Mansfield in an interview over KSLA, April 6. L. E. Storey was a panelist in a discussion on "Federal Aid to Education" over KNOE-TV on March 11. R. T. Trout discussed "Population Changes in the United States" over KNOE-TV on March 25.

Fred G. Benton, Jr., of Baton Rouge presented a set of slides accompanied with a lecture on the Battle of Port Hudson on April 14 to students of Franklinton Junior and Senior High Schools. The program was also attended by members of the Bogue Chitto Guards, U.D.C., and other invited adult guests.

his cue from Jay Monaghan's *Civil War On The Western Border*, Richard Brownlee retells the story of the Kansas fiasco, when the north and south violently competed for this new territory. But with the coming of the war he leaves the political aspects and devotes his study to the bloody guerrilla warfare that painted the border red with its unconventional tactics.

This is the story of William Clarke Quantrill, an Ohio-born adventurer who took the natural abilities of leadership and an amoral attitude toward humanity and earned an infamous reputation for butchery that survives until today as legend in the Missouri hills; of "Bloody" Bill Anderson, who rode with the master Quantrill and learned his lessons well until strings of the heart pulled him away to form his own outlaw band; and it is also the story of "Little Archie" Clement, Anderson's seventeen year old executioner, who took orders from only one man but who nursed a hatred for all men. To describe Clement as phychopathic is putting it mildly. His personal touch on each of his executions gives a new definition to sadism.

Fortunately *Gray Ghosts of the Confederacy* is more than a running account of the exploits of the border guerrillas. While it does give ample space to Quantrill, Anderson, etc., and tends to moralize on how the James and Younger boys were led into a life of crime in retaliation for northern atrocities, the book goes beyond this to analyze northern and southern strategy in the west, and describe their respective policies. There is also an interesting chapter on martial law and how it applied to this border area.

The theme of the book is that the north threw away its chance of holding the loyalty of the border by unwise policies in that area (i.e., assuming that all Missourians were pro-Southern and employing gestapo methods to hold them in line). But the author reserves his greatest condemnation for the inept commanders. Brownlee awards the prize for bad general to John C. Fremont and Nathaniel Lyon, to be held jointly. It is perhaps quibbling to say that he is too hard on these men. But this question is inescapable: who should have been sent in their place, and would a change in personnel have made a great difference?

It remains that Mr. Brownlee has given us a well-written, colorful, and complete history of one part of the Civil War. Not the

least of his service is a roster of the principal guerrilla bands that geneologists will be trying to forget.

Louisiana State University ARCHIE PHILIP MCDONALD

SCHOOL BOARD SERVICE. A Handbook for Louisiana School Board Members. By John A. Hunter. (Baton Rouge: Printing, Incorporated, 1960. xi, 102 pp. Appendices, bibliography, index, $2.95.)

The Louisiana School Boards Association has been concerned since its organization in 1938 with a program of in-service training of its membership. Guiding this work within the organization has been the person to whom the volume *School Board Service* is rightly dedicated, Fred Thatcher, Executive Secretary of the Association.

It is fitting that John Hunter should be the author of this Handbook for Louisiana School Board Members, because of his personal interest, his previous study of school board membership for his doctoral dissertation in 1949, and his continued leadership since then in helping the Association achieve its goals. For his participation and efforts to assist in its work, the organization has awarded Dr. Hunter one of its four honorary memberships. As further evidence of propriety of authoriship, Dr. Hunter has taught courses in school administration and finance at Louisiana State University for a period of several years. Therefore, Dean E. B. Robert, in the Foreword, saw fit to designate the author "an eminent authority in the preparation of this important publication."

The major portion of the book concerns itself with those facets of public education with which any well-informed school board member should be thoroughly familiar. Through an historical evolution of the school board in America, followed by discussion of school administration at the state level, the reader's attention is focused to the matter of local school administration and effective board membership. Complex problems of a practical nature are also highlighted: business affairs, school transportation, the school lunch program, and welfare laws affecting the operations of school boards.

As necessary handbook items, the "Objectives and Purposes of the Louisiana School Boards Association" appear after "Acknowledgments;" the appendices include the "Code of Ethics of the Associa-